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SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

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Pro-Slavery.

COMPROMISE—SECESSION.

VIEWS OF HON. HENRY CLAY.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

Hon. HENRY CLAY, *Ashland, Kentucky*—

RESPECTED AND DEAR SIR: There are periods in the history of nations when the bold and manly counsel, the sagacious foresight, and the timely and persevering efforts of the firm and patriotic statesman can succeed in averting a fearful crisis; at the same time the warning voice of the wise and the good may require to be repeated and uplifted, until it shall resound throughout the land.

Your introduction of the Compromise measures into the Senate of the United States, and their passage by Congress, marked an epoch in our history; they arrested the nearer approach of the national calamity, and, as was fondly hoped, laid the foundation for returning harmony.

It has since, however, become but too apparent, that continued and unremitted efforts in favour of Union sentiments are necessary to resist the current of error, and secure the maintenance of sound principles of attachment to the Constitution, in order that our country may reap the blessed fruits that were expected from the Compromise of peace.

Several of your noble coadjutors in the cause of the Union have already addressed the people, and are now addressing them, in words of truth and patriotism, of eloquence and power; and we have thought it right to appeal to the Senator from Kentucky, and entreat, that one whose voice has been so often raised in defence of the people's rights, may not be silent now.

We have a well-founded conviction that the great body of the American people are in favour of maintaining and enforcing the Compromises of the Constitution; nevertheless, in the resolutions and addresses adopted at the Conventions lately assembled around us, we have seen with regret, as well as alarm, that the question of adherence to the Compromise measures is avoided or evaded, that modification and amendment are declared to be requisite, and repeal, itself, admissible; as if the requirement of the Constitution, in carrying out an integral part of our National compact, was of no higher obligation than any ordinary act of legislation.

It is evident, therefore, that there requires to be more generally diffused a spirit that will not tamper with politicians whose course must inevitably lead to the destruction of the Constitution—a spirit that will not hold communion with those who advance and support doctrines, in relation to the great national adjustment, fatal to the future peace and harmony of the Union; who merely acquiesce because they have no alternative, while, on all important occasions, they too plainly disclose, under a flimsy veil of apparent contentment, a determination to resist and oppose the efforts of the friends of the Compromise and the Union.

We feel confident that you will not favour the abettors of such doctrines, but rather reprove and denounce them. We therefore respectfully but earnestly ask of you to leave, for a time, your retreat in Kentucky, to appear among us at New York.

The people are profoundly grateful for your past efforts, and are proud and willing to acknowledge your timely and efficient services. They know and honour your Union principles and your national sentiments; and none are more deeply penetrated by these feelings, nor more desirous to acknowledge these obligations, than your fellow citizens generally of this commercial emporium; and did we not think that the present crisis required your warning voice, your presence and your name, to arouse your countrymen to a sense of their duty and their danger, we would not attempt to disturb the repose of the sage of Ashland.

George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, Daniel Ullmann, James E. Kelley, Chas. M. Connolly, L. D. Coman, Walter Welsh, Henry B. Colt, Robert Smith, and others.

LETTER FROM HON. HENRY CLAY.

ASHLAND, Friday, Oct 3, 1851

GENTLEMEN: I have duly received your official letter, transmitting an address numerously signed by my fellow citizens of New York, inviting me to visit that city, and address a public meeting on some of the public and exciting topics of the day; and you are pleased to add an expression of your own kind wishes, that I would accept the invitation. I should be most happy, if I felt myself in a condition to do so; but for the reasons assigned in my answer to the address, which is herewith forwarded, I am very sorry that it is not in my power to accept it. I hope that answer may be deemed satisfactory by you, and by those whom you represent.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, with high respect,
Your obedient servant, H. CLAY.

Messrs. Geo. Griswold, Stephen Whitner, A. C. Kingsland, Chas. M. Leupp and Jas. D. P. Ogden, &c. &c.

ASHLAND, Friday, Oct. 3, 1851.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt, yesterday, of the address which you transmitted to me, from a number of gentlemen in the City of New York. Emanating from a source so highly respectable and imposing, from friends and fellow citizens so numerous and intelligent, and to whom I am under such great obligations, I have perused it with profound attention and deference. After adverting to the present state of public affairs, to the spirit adverse to the measures of Compromise adopted during the last Congress, which prevails in certain quarters, to the necessity of unremitted exertions to preserve our glorious Union, and to what has been so seasonably and well done, with so much ability, eloquence and patriotism, by some of our eminent countrymen, you invite me to leave, for a time, my quiet abode here, to appear in your great city, and to address my fellow citizens on the actual condition, and menacing danger of our country.

I feel, gentlemen, with the greatest interest and the deepest solicitude, the full force of all that you have expressed; and I would gladly comply with your wishes, and even dedicate the remnant of a life, the largest and best part of which has been spent in the public service, to the cause of the Union, if the state of my health would allow me, and if I believed that any fresh exertions of mine would be useful. But, ever since the long session of the last Congress, during which my arduous duties were greater than I was well able to encounter, my health has been delicate, and it has remained so throughout the past Summer. I hope that it is improving, but it still requires the most assiduous care; and I entertain serious apprehensions that if I were to accept your invitation, and throw myself into the scenes of excitement incident to it, my strength might fail me, and my present debility might be much increased. There is no place, I am fully aware, where I should find more ardent and enthusiastic friends in one party, and more courtesy and respect in the other, than in the commercial metropolis of the Union. While I am constrained, with much regret, respectfully to decline the meeting you propose, I avail myself of the occasion to present some views which I have taken of public affairs, and which I trust may be received as a substitute for any oral exhibition of them, which I could make before a large concourse of my fellow citizens in New York.

It was not supposed by the authors and supporters of the Compromise, in the last Congress, that the adoption of the series of measures which composed it, would secure the unanimous concurrence of all. Their reasonable hopes were confined to the great majority of the people of the United States, and their hopes have not been disappointed. Everywhere, north, south, east and west, an immense majority of the people are satisfied with, or acquiesce in, the Compromise. This may be confidently asserted in regard to thirteen of the slaveholding States, and to thirteen, if not fourteen, of the free States. In a few of both classes of the States, and in some particular localities, dissatisfaction exists, exhibiting itself occasionally in words of great violence and intemperance; but this feeling is, I trust, where it has most prevailed, gradually yielding to an enlightened sense of public duty. I will present a rapid survey of the actual state of things, as it appears to me, both at the North and the South, beginning at the former.

In all that region, there is but one of the various Compromise measures that is seriously assailed, and that is the law, made in strict conformity with the Constitution, for the surrender of fugitives from lawful service or labour. But the law itself, with two exceptions, has been everywhere enforced; opposition to it is constantly abating, and the patriotic obligations of obeying the Constitution and the laws, made directly or indirectly by the people themselves, is now almost universally recognised and admitted. If, in the execution of the law, by the public authority, popular discontent is sometimes manifested, it has, with the exceptions mentioned, been invariably repressed, or prevented from obstructing the officers of justice in the performance of their duties. If I am correctly informed, a great and salutary change has been made, and is yet in progress, at the North, which authorizes the confident anticipation that reason and law will finally achieve a noble triumph.

The necessity of maintaining and enforcing that law, unrepealed, and without any modification that would seriously impair its efficiency, must be admitted by the impartial judgment of all candid men. Many of the slaveholding States, and many public meetings of the people of them, have deliberately declared that their adherence to the Union depended upon the preservation of that law, and that its abandonment would be the signal of the dissolution of the Union. I know that the Abolitionists (some of whom openly avow a desire to produce that calamitous event) and their partizans deny and deride the existence of any such danger; but men who will not perceive and own it, must be blind to the signs of the times, to the sectional strife which has unhappily arisen, to the embittered feelings which have been excited, as well as the solemn resolutions of deliberate assemblies, unanimously adopted. Their disregard of the danger, I am apprehensive, proceeds more from their desire to continue agitation, which augments it, than from their love of the Union itself.

You refer, gentlemen, to "resolutions and addresses adopted at Conventions lately assembled around us, in which we have seen with regret as well as alarm, that the question of adherence to the Compromise is avoided or evaded," and you justly deprecate the tendency of these resolutions. I have not been an inattentive or indifferent observer of them, and with you I deeply regret their adoption. I wish that these respectable bodies could have been less ambiguous, and more explicit, in declaring their determination to acquiesce in, and abide by, a great measure of Peace and Compromise, which, forming an epoch in the progress of our country, was intended to reconcile and restore concord and fraternal feelings among our divided countrymen. There was no necessity to reserve a right to discuss, to modify, and to repeal the obnoxious law. Such a right existed without any express reservation, not only as to that law, but as to all laws, and as to the Constitution itself, which has incorporated in it the right of amendment, and consequently that of discussion. But there are occasions when a spirit of moderation should prompt a forbearance to exercise that right. If more were intended than meets the eye, more than to proclaim the theoretic right of discussion, if it were designed to announce the right of unremitted agitation, to continue the distractions of the country, and, finally, if possible, to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, patriotism and harmony must condemn the unwise course, as fraught with the most mischievous and perilous consequences.

But we must make some allowances for human frailty and inordinate pride of opinion. Many persons at the North had avowed an invincible hostility to the fugitive law; and even declared their intention forcibly to obstruct its execution, and had appealed to a higher law, which, as they contended, was paramount to all human legislation. These ostensible positions were wholly irreconcilable with patriotism, or even with the existence of regular government itself. Obeying the dictates, it is to be hoped, of wiser and purer and more social counsels, the parties who, under the impulses of passion and fanaticism, had assumed, have now abandoned them, and acknowledged their unquestionable duty to submit to the law, until it is modified or repealed by competent authority. In descending from the high and perilous ground, which they could not safely occupy, to that of conceding the obligation of submission to the law, we discern, I hope, a just homage to the dictates of civilization, and to the duties of established government. If they have coupled with this proper concession the useless reservation of a right of discussion, and of insisting upon a repeal or the amendment of a law to which they had taken exception, may we not hope that their purpose was only to secure a decent retreat, with a secret and patriotic determination to forbear from disturbing that return to harmony and tranquility, so necessary to the safety and prosperity of the Union? Should it turn out otherwise, should the reckless spirit of agitation continue to disturb and distract our country, to array section against section, and to threaten the stability of the Government, my confidence is unshaken in the great body of our Northern fellow citizens, that they will, in due time, and in right manner, apply an appropriate and effectual corrective.

In turning our attention to the South, and to the Slaveholding States, we behold enough to encourage the friends of the Union, and but little to excite solicitude and alarm. In all these States, except three, there is acquiescence in the terms of the Compromise, and a firm attachment to the Union. In two of these three (Georgia and Mississippi) we have much reason to hope, from their known patriotism and intelligence, that the same attachment exists on the part of large majorities of the people. At all events, those among them of whose devotion and fidelity to the Union serious apprehensions were entertained, have been constrained, in deference to public opinion, materially to change their principles and to go to the polls upon a new issue. They have renounced and denounced the practical right of secession at present, and taken shelter under the convenient mask of the mere abstract right. Whether this shifting of position will satisfy the people of these two States, remains to be seen. They will, doubtless, seriously consider that there is but a short step between the theoretic assertion, and the practical exercise of that right; and in a contingency neither remote nor improbable, if they affirm the right, they may soon be called upon to involve themselves in all the calamitous evils of a civil war.

South Carolina alone furnishes, at present, occasion for profound regret and serious apprehension, not so much for the security of the Union as for her own peace and prosperity. We are compelled, painfully and reluctantly, to yield to the force of concurring evidence, establishing that there exists in that State general dissatisfaction with, and a general desire to withdraw from, the Union; and that both parties—that which is for separate State action, and that which insists upon the necessity of the co-operation of other States—equally agree as to the expediency of secession, and differ only in the degree of rashness or prudence which characterizes them respectively.

Nullification and secession have sprung from the same metaphysical school; and the latter is the ally, if not the offspring, of the former. They both agree that a single State is invested with power to nullify the laws of all the other States passed by Congress; but nullification claims a right to accomplish that object, and to remain at the same time in the Union; while secession asserts a right to attain it by withdrawing from the Union, and absolving the State from all obligation to the Constitution and the laws of the United States. They both maintain that a resort to either process is peaceful and legitimate. Nullification derived an ambiguous but contested support from the memorable resolutions of the States of Virginia and Kentucky, adopted in 1798-9; but these resolutions afford no colour or countenance to the pretensions of secession.

The doctrine of secession assumes that any one of the thirty-one States composing the Union, wherever or however situated, whether in the interior or on the frontier, has a right, upon its own separate will, and according to the dictates of its exclusive judgment, to withdraw from the Union, whenever it pleases; that this act of secession is peaceful, and not to be controverted or obstructed by the rest of the States, or by the application of any force, within the limits of the seceding State, to execute the laws of the United States; and that thereupon, the State and its citizens are absolved from all obligations and duties to the U. States, and become a power as independent and sovereign as any of the nations of the earth. The doctrine maintains that this right of secession may be exercised whenever the State deems it has sufficient cause; at all times—in a state of profound peace and prosperity, or in the midst of a furious war, raging in all our borders, and that, in the latter case, transforming itself into a distinct and independent nation, it may escape the calamities of war, make a separate treaty of peace with the common enemy, become neutral, or even ally itself with that enemy, and take up arms against the United States. It asserts this right, although it may lead, in the process of time, to the promiscuous dotting over, upon the surface of the territory of the United States, of petty independent nations, establishing for themselves any form of government, free or despotic, known to mankind, and interrupting the intercourse and violating or menacing the execution of the laws of the dismembered confederacy. It contends for this right, as well for Louisiana as for South Carolina, although the province of Louisiana cost us so much money, and was nigh involving us in a foreign war; for Texas, although it occasioned us a war with Mexico, the payment of ten millions of dollars to arrange its boundaries, and to acquire it, many were willing to risk a war with England; and for distant California, although that was acquired by the double title of conquest and the payment of an ample pecuniary consideration.

If, indeed, the Union, under which we have so long, and generally so happily lived, be thus fragile, and liable to crumble into pieces, we must cease to boast of the wisdom of our forefathers who formed it, tear from our hearts the sentiments of gratitude and veneration with which they had inspired us, and no longer expect an enlightened world to bestow the unbounded praise which it has hitherto lavished on them. A doctrine so extraordinary and indefensible, fraught with the destruction of the Union, and such other direful consequences, finds no encouragement or support in the Constitution of the United States. It had none under the articles of confederation which formed, in terms, a perpetual Union, however otherwise weak and inefficient the Government was which they established. That inefficiency arose out of the fact, that it operated not on the people directly, but upon the States, which might, and often did, fail to comply with the requisitions made on them by Congress. To correct that defect, and to form a more *perfect* Union, the present Constitution was adopted. It had been alleged, that the Union of the States, under the articles of confederation, was held together only by a rope of sand; but it was a rope of adamant, compared with the cord which now binds us, if the right of secession is sanctioned and sustained.

The Constitution of the United States established a Government, and, like all Governments, it was to be perpetual, or to have unlimited duration. It was not restricted to the existing generation, but comprehended posterity. The preamble declares, that "we, the people of the United States, in order to form a more *perfect Union*, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our *posterity*, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." It makes provision expressly for the admission of new States into the Union; but from the beginning to the end of it, not a clause is to be found which gives any authority or colour to the right of secession of a State once admitted into the Union.

The partisans of this novel and strange doctrine attempt to support it on two grounds: First, they contend, that by an express amendment of the Constitution, as all powers not granted to the Government of the United States are reserved to the States, or to the people, the power or right of secession is not granted, and that it is therefore retained by the States and the people, and may be exercised at their pleasure.

This argument is refuted by either of two sufficient answers. The contested power cannot be retained, if its reservation be incompatible with the obligations of the constitutional compact. But the Constitution was intended to be perpetual, or which is the same thing, to be of unlimited existence, subject only, from time to time, to such amendments as might be made, in the mode which it specifies. It created a more *perfect Union*, which was to secure the blessings of liberty to the generation which formed it, and to their *posterity*. The obligation which each State voluntarily assumed to the other States, by being admitted into the Union, was, that it would remain perpetually bound to the other States to preserve the Union, for their own benefit, and to inure to the benefit of posterity. To assert in the face of that obligation, that a State may retire from the Union whenever it pleases, is to assert that a party, bound by a solemn compact to other parties, may cancel or violate the compact whenever it thinks proper, without their consent. In order to secure respect and submission to the Union, the Constitution expressly provides, "that this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Thus each and every one of the States have agreed, not only that its ordinary legislation, but that its Constitution, the higher law made by the people themselves in Convention, shall, in any cases of conflict, be subordinate to the paramount authority of the Constitution, laws made in pursuance thereof, and treaties of the United States. If, therefore, any State were, either in its Legislature, or in a Convention of delegates of the people, to declare, by the most formal act, that it had seceded from the Union, such an act would be nugatory and an absolute nullity; and the people of that State would remain bound by the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States, as fully and perfectly as if the act had never been proclaimed.

But there is another view also, conclusively against the pretension of secession being a power reserved to the States under the amendment of the Constitution referred to. The reservation of a power implies its existence in the party reserving it prior to such reservation. But when a State existed in its independent, separate and unassociated character, it would have no right of secession, there being no Confederacy or other party from which to secede. Secession is incident to union or confederacy, without which it can have no existence, and unless it is clearly provided for in the compact of Union, out of which it springs, and still more if it be utterly irreconcileable with that compact, it can have no constitutional or legitimate foundation.

It is contended, however, in the second place, that the right of secession appertains to the States under and in virtue of their sovereignty. This argument scorns any reliance upon the reservation of powers in the Constitution, cuts loose from all the obligations in that instrument, defies the power and authority of the General Government, and finds a solution of the authority for secession in the sovereignty of the States. What that sovereignty is, it does not deign to define or explain, nor to show how one of its attributes is to disregard and violate grave compacts.

The sovereignty of the States, prior to the adoption of the present Constitution, was limited and qualified by the articles of the confederation. They had agreed among themselves to create a *perpetual* Union. When, therefore, the thirteen original States passed from under those articles, to the Constitution, they passed from a less to a more perfect Union, and agreed to further limitations upon their sovereignty.

Under the present Constitution, among the limitations and prohibitions upon the sovereignty of the States, it is expressly provided that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts;" and "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tunnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will admit of no delay." It may be affirmed, with entire truth, that all attributes of sovereignty which relate to peace and war, commerce, navigation, friendship and intercourse with, and, in short, all that relate to foreign powers, and several of those attributes which relate to the internal administration of the States themselves, are voluntarily surrendered to the General Government, and cannot be exercised by the States. The performance of any of the forbidden acts would be null and void, no matter in what solemn and authentic form, nor by what State authority, the Legislature, a convention, or the people themselves of the State, in an aggregate mass, it might be performed. The Constitution of the United States would instantly intervene, vacate the act, and proclaim the overruling, supreme and paramount authority of the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States.

It is clear, therefore, that no State can do anything repugnant to the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States. What it might do, if it were in possession of all its absolute sovereignty, and had never entered into this Union, is a different question. But if we suppose, contrary to historical facts, that the States were absolutely sovereign when the existing Constitution was adopted, could they circumscribe and contract their attributes of sovereignty by the stipulations and provisions which are contained in it? All history is full of examples of the total annihilation of sovereignty or nationality, oftener by the power of the sword and conquest, but sometimes by the voluntary act of one nation merging itself into another, of which we have a striking instance in the case of Texas, in our own country. Assuming that the Constitution is a mere compact between independent nations, or sovereign States, they were nevertheless bound by all the obligations which the compact creates. They are bound to abstain from all forbidden acts, and to submit to the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States. But, it will be asked, have they not also the right to judge of the fidelity with which the common government has adhered to the common compact? Yes, most certainly. They have that right, and so has every citizen of the United States, so has the General Government also. The alleged violation of the Constitution may be exposed and denounced by all the weapons of reason, of argument, and of ridicule; by remonstrance, protest, appeals to the judiciary, and to the other States; by the press, public opinion, and all legitimate means of persuading or influencing it. If, after the employment of all or any of these peaceful methods, the Government of the United States, sustained by a constitutional majority of the nation, persist in retaining the obnoxious law, there is no alternative but obedience to the law, on the part of the minority, or open, undisguised, manly, and forcible resistance to its execution.

The alleged right of secession is, I apprehend, sometimes confounded with a right of revolution. But its partisans mean a totally different thing. They contend that it is a peaceful, lawful, and, if not constitutional remedy, that it is not forbidden by the Constitution. They insist that it is a State right to be recognised and respected; and, that whenever exercised by a State, far from being censured or condemned, the State, if necessary, is entitled to the co-operation of other States. The prudent valour of these partisans, in imitation of the previous example of the friends of nullification, disclaims the purpose of using themselves, and protest against the application to them of any physical force.

The right of revolution is that right which an unjustly oppressed people, threatened with, or borne down by intolerable and insupportable tyranny and injustice, have of resorting to forcible resistance, to prevent or redress the wrongs with which they are menaced or under which they are suffering. It may aim simply at a removal of grievances, or it may seek totally to change the existing government or to establish within its limits a new government. It is a right not confined by the boundaries of States (although being organized political bodies, they may be capable of giving greater effect to revolutionary efforts,) but it belongs to oppressed man, whatever may be his condition. In all revolutions, however, there are two parties, those who revolt, and the government which they forcibly resist. There are generally two opposite opinions, also, entertained of the cause of resistance; that of those who rise in rebellion, believing themselves to be wronged, and that of the existing government, which denies having inflicted any oppression or injustice. It is incumbent upon wise and considerate men, before they hastily engage in a revolution, deliberately to consider the motives and causes of revolt, and carefully to calculate the probable consequences of forcible resistance. If unsuccessful, they know they will be guilty of treason, and incur the penalty inflicted upon traitors.

I have thus, gentlemen, presented an imperfect sketch of some of the views which I have taken of the existing topics of the day. It would admit of much enlargement and additional illustration, but I have already given to this paper an inordinate length. In contemplating that sketch, we behold much more to animate the hopes and encourage the patriotism of the country, than to create regret and apprehension. After such a political storm as that which violently raged during the last Congress, it was not to be expected that the nation would instantly settle down in perfect quiet and repose. Considering the vast extent of our territory, our numerous population, the heated conflicts of passion, of opinion, of interest and of sections, pervading the entire Union, we have great reason to be thankful to Providence for the degree of calmness, of tranquility, and of satisfaction, which prevails. If there are local exceptions at the North and at the South, of rash and misguided men, who would madly resist the Constitution and laws of the United States, let us not despair of their return, in seasonable time, to reason and to duty. But suppose we should be disappointed, and that the standard should be raised of open resistance to the Union, the Constitution and the laws, what is to be done? There can be but one possible answer. The power, the authority and dignity of the government ought to be maintained and resistance put down at every hazard. Government, in the fallen and depraved state of man, would lose all respect, and fall into disgrace and contempt, if it did not possess potentially, and would not, in extreme cases, practically exercise the right of employing force. The theory of the Constitution of the United States assumes the necessity of the existence and the application of force, both in our foreign and domestic relations. Congress is expressly authorized "to raise and support armies," "to provide and maintain a navy," and "provide for calling forth the militia, to *execute* the laws of the Union, *suppress insurrections* and repel invasions." The duty of executing the laws and suppressing insurrections, is without limitation or qualification; it is co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the United States, and it comprehends every species of resistance to the execution of the laws, and every form of insurrection, no matter under what auspices or sanction it is made. Individuals, public meetings, States, may resolve, as often as tastes or passions may prompt them to resolve, that they will forcibly oppose the execution of the laws, and secede from the Union. While those resolutions remain on paper, they are harmless; but the moment a daring hand is raised to resist, by force, the execution of the laws, the duty of enforcing them arises, and if the conflict which may ensue should lead to civil war, the resisting party, having begun it, will be responsible for all its consequences.

Since the adoption of our present Constitution, and the Union which it created by the blessing of Providence, we have advanced in population, power, wealth, internal improvement, and national greatness, with a degree of rapidity, which, unparalleled in ancient or modern nations, has excited the astonishment and commanded the admiration of mankind. Our ample limits and extensive jurisdiction, more than tripled, have been made to embrace all the provinces of Louisiana, the two Floridas, Texas and New Mexico; and passing the Rocky Mountains, have reached the Pacific Ocean, comprehending Oregon, and California and Utah. Our population has risen from four to twenty-three millions; our revenue, without any onerous burden, has grown from less than three to near fifty millions of dollars; our revolutionary debt is extinguished; our mercantile marine is not surpassed by that of the greatest maritime power; the abundant products of our agriculture satisfy all our wants, and contribute to the subsistence of other nations; our manufactures are rapidly tending to the supply of all we essentially need from them, and to afford a surplus for the prosecution of our extended foreign commerce; the surface of our land is striped over with railroads and turnpikes, and our sea lakes and navigable waters resound with the roar of innumerable steam vessels. Your own great city illustrates our surprising progress. After the commencement of the operation of this Constitution, in 1790, its population was 33,131. By the census of 1850, it was 515,394, and our other cities have increased in scarcely a less ratio. The problem of the capacity of Representative Government to maintain free and liberal institutions on an extensive territory, has been triumphantly solved by the intelligence of the people, and the all powerful agency of steam and lightning.

Such are the gratifying results which have been obtained under the auspices of that Union, which some rash men, prompted by ambition, passion and frenzy, would seek to dissolve and subvert! To revolt against such a government for any thing which has passed, would be so atrocious, and characterized by such extreme folly and madness, that we may search in vain for an example of it in human annals. We can look for its prototype only (if I may be pardoned the allusion) to that diabolical revolt which, recorded on the pages of Holy Writ, has been illustrated and commemorated by the sublime genius of the immortal Milton.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let us enjoy the proud consolation afforded by the conviction that a vast majority of the people of the United States, true to their forefathers, true to themselves, and true to posterity, are firmly and immovably attached to this Union; that they see in it a safe and sure, if not the sole guaranty of liberty, of internal peace, of prosperity, and of national happiness, progress and greatness: that its dissolution would be followed by endless wars among ourselves, by the temptation or invitation to foreign powers to take part in them, and finally, by foreign subjugation, or the establishment of despotism; and that "united we stand—divided we fall."

I am with the highest respect,
Your obedient servant,
H. CLAY.

Messrs. Stephen Whitney, George Griswold, Daniel Ullman, and the other signers of the Address, &c.

HON. GEORGE M. DALLAS AND THE COMPROMISE.

Letter to Hon. Guy M. Bryan, of Texas.

SCHOOLEY'S BELMONT HALL,
SCHOOLEY'S MOUNTAIN SPRING,
NEW JERSEY, July 25, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR: Having escaped the heats of the city, I am almost inclined, amid the beauties of nature which surround me here, the high hills, the pure, cool air, the fragrant forests, and the ripening harvests, to postpone, until my return to arid streets and studies, the attention to which your request is entitled. I cannot, however, feel at rest while imagining that my silence may possibly be misinterpreted, and therefore hasten to send you the views which you are kind enough to wish repeated.

Of the topics of your letter, dated the 4th inst., from Peach Point, Brazoria county Texas, I have long entertained definite and decided opinions. As they are somewhat different from any avowed by public men in this quarter, I should feel diffident in holding or confessing them, were it not that every day's progress in our great federal experiment confirms to me their soundness, indeed their absolute necessity. I cannot work out the safety of the Union in their absence. That Union was designed, and is fitted to be the best and most permanent security for as much of combined freedom and happiness as societies are permitted to enjoy, and it has always seemed to me not merely rash and irrational, but grossly illogical; to disclaim or doubt any of its essential springs of vitality. Union in its political sense, is the opposite of consolidation. The elements necessary to a bare idea of a Union are antagonistic to those of a consolidation; and yet I cannot help thinking that all the mistakes and mischiefs to which we have been subjected, found an origin in the habitual tendency of many very able statesmen to import from old consolidated empires their products of legislation and government, and to fasten them upon the new American condition of mere Federal Union. How often do we hear and see the strictly deconstitutionalized term, Nation, substituted for that of Union. A substitute plausible and innocent in the sphere of foreign nations, but full of insinuating and pernicious encroachment wherever the domestic limits, reservations and guarrantees are involved. It found no place in the structure framed by the Convention of 1787. Were I not at this moment away from home, more in search of health than disposed to labour, I should be tempted to note, from Congressional and Executive records, some of the errors apparently run into, both of reasoning and of policy, under the seductive influence of round language. No stronger illustrations could be given of Mirabeau's assertion that "words are things," (aye, and fatally serious things, too,) than the extent to which, with such aids, the meaning of our constitution, if not the nature of our government, has been affected. I am not so unjust as to question the motives of those who have thus deviated; they must rather be regarded as misled by a sort of ambitious patriotism, so intently aiming to augment the greatness, wealth and power of their country, as unguardedly to overlook the peculiar complications and nice adjustment of its political system.

As a people, we are generally calm and conservative—perhaps more tamely so than is congenial with the spirit and anticipations of the constitution.—There is one provision of that instrument, which more strongly than any other, marks its practical wisdom, and yet it is curious to see with what almost superstitious dread we shrink from bringing it into action. I refer to the power and process of amendment. Our organic law was put in writing, its delegations and restrictions of jurisdiction were given express and visible certainty; but as all human fabrics are confessedly imperfect, and should ever be adaptable to the times, the mode of peaceful change, correction or addition, was proscribed with equal exactness. Why is it that we endure years of dangerous agitation, unsettling our sentiments as fellow-citizens, and winding gradually up to a social convulsion, rather than frankly resort to this proffered expedient? Certainly, the constitution cannot be touched with too much reverence; certainly, what is usually stigmatized as "tinkering" at it should be resolutely avoided; but when it is plain that the proper occasion has arisen, that nothing less solemn can be efficacious, and that the very union it creates and conservates is at risk, why are we to recoil from the provided sanctuary? One of the authorized forms of amending is unaccompanied by hazard of any kind—that of Congressional recommendation, to be followed by the approval of three-fourths of the local Legislatures. Such a process seems just now to be unpromising, but it may, after candid and diffuse discussion, turn out otherwise. Surely the Union is valued sufficiently to rally for its risk and renovation twenty-four of the thirty-one States; or are we already prepared to admit that the American people have become incapable of self-government—incapable of appreciating the true sources of their wonderful progress, and incapable of discarding the blind though boisterous guides ready to lead them, through disunion, into mutual and rancorous jealousies, into dependence on foreign guardianship, into civil and servile wars, and into the poor feuds of village trades and tariffs. I think it always a mistake to falter in reliance upon the shrewd and sober judgment of the great body of our fellow citizens. They were wise enough to discern the untried excellence of the constitution; they were wise enough to amend, aye, and most admirably, the work as it came from the hands of Washington, Madison, Franklin and Hamilton. Are they not wise enough, then, to apply a single and simple cure for a disease which, after many years of latent torpor has suddenly alarmingly developed? With me there is no doubt that if my countrymen be given the legitimate opportunity, they will expressly and unqualifiedly prohibit, sooner or later what I have heretofore humbly believed they had by the strongest implication already prohibited. They will prohibit from being forced by the sophistries of zealots to enact the part of consolidation; they will place the constitutional cannon too palpably for misconstruction, against the self-slaughter of intermeddling with institutions and rights exclusively of State creation, State responsibility, and State control: they will render it impossible, by any process short of treason or revolution, to convert the confederacy into the means of destroying the equality of its own members, or to direct its energies to fulfil the behests of some higher law starting up from the ever ranging and incalculable phantasies of the inner man.

I have dispassionately, but anxiously watched the manifest of political sentiments in the North and East, since the adjournment of Congress, and shall be most happy to find any impression dispelled in the future. At first, the movements of the masses were independent of leadership, and gave a noble earnestness to indicate their good faith, and to maintain the institutions and harmony of the Union; but, I say it with reluctance, the horizon was not long permitted to remain so flattering. The Abolitionists beat again their barbaric gong; the love of representative assemblages, regular or casual, was again taunting and vindictive; paltry and personal ambition renewed the agitation by which alone its hopes are fed; Vermont, Massachusetts, Ohio, New York and even Pennsylvania, exhibited in succession sad proof that their respective portions of the great Whig party were unwilling to forego the customary rallying outcry against the South. They affected not to know, to disbelieve as fanciful, or to despise if real, the dangers of their course; the bold bully of Anti-Slavery defied to his face the eloquent apostle of the Union, and defied him with impunity. The newspaper editorials, with exceptions few and far between, merged in the common current; at last it has become quite manifest (has it not? and why repress our convictions?) that the expectation fondly indulged of tranquilizing the country by the legislative measures, is delusive. The act for the extradition of fugitives is the pretext for protracted and persevering war upon the guarantees of the Constitution; and if we are to raise the seige to which that instrument is still subjected, can we do better than to reinforce it from the arsenal, and with the orders of the people? I desire nothing so much as the safety of the Union. Place it beyond the striking distance of cunning, as well as mad fanaticism. Do this, if you can, without resorting to the final remedy; but if you cannot, then give to the Constitution an express, positive, prohibitory amendment, which shall forever end the entanglements and pretexts of interpretation.

But what, you may ask, if this doubtful and dilatory course should prove abortive? Much time and opportunity will have been afforded. Congress, the executive, and the people, will have perceived that the resources of the Constitution for the defence of State rights were particularly exhausted, and may become sensible that a single further step of invasion will, like the last feather on the camel's back, break down the Confederacy. At all events, the responsibility of pertinaciously perverting, after reiterated warning, the functions of the Union, will, even more strongly than now, rest with those who dare gravely claim to domineer the condition and consciences of others. Instead of forbearing remonstrance, of reasoning, and of appeals to the bulwark of the fundamental compact, the quick instinct of self preservation will alone be left. Even at that crisis, when disunion, partial or temporary, shall seem the alternative on which to shun consolidation, I shall not cease to hope that faction may yet be stunned into sobriety, and that the confronting presence of liberty and usurpation may, in this Western World of ours, terrify the latter into retreat.

I do not think that I misjudge my countrymen in saying, that the party in the wrong must ultimately yield; but it is well to remember, that in order to retain the position of right, extreme forbearance is necessary, and that perhaps gross oppression may for a season be most honourably borne. In contests of speculative politics, a salutary something can always be anticipated from the soothing and truth-disclosing influence of time. To fling the gauntlet while yet the civil controversy is undecided; to mutiny from and quit a garrison within which you may really have more friends than foes, is chivalry of the kind painted by Cervantes. Napoleon, the restive and intractable, owned and inculcated, as to all projects, the wisdom of waiting "till the pear is ripe," and not imitate the savage who cuts down the tree to reach the fruit. Southern men whose faith wavers in the meaning and purpose of the Constitution, as to State equality and non-intervention, are naturally made testy and choleric by their own misgivings; but it is the province of conscious justice and perfection to be patient and to abide the inevitable triumph of truth. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that, however convenient and admissible in ordinary parlance the language is, there are, under the Constitution, no such separate realities as "Southern rights;" that an outrage upon reserved sovereignty, on any subject, is just as much an infringement of my right in Pennsylvania as of yours in Texas, and that a large proportion of the people on this side of Mason and Dixon's line have been taught by experience and reflection to know that their dangers, in peace or in war, have their sources in the North. A citizen who truly estimates and loves the Union, who is capable of comprehending that to the domestic tranquility and enduring freedom of the American people it is a political necessity, feels as sensitively a blow inflicted upon one great interest or region as upon another—upon the fisheries, the navigation of the Mississippi, the liberty of the seas, the freedom of the press, or the local sovereignty over soil and Slavery. The right to fish is no more Northern than Southern; the right which was in momentary jeopardy at Ghent of exclusive use of the waters of the Mississippi, is no more western than eastern, and the right not to be impressed by British naval audacity was cherished alike in the fields of Kentucky and on the Atlantic coast; and so I tell you that the right of each State to be accounted an equal of every other State, and to secure, if she so pleases, to her inhabitants the enjoyment of as ample and unrestricted a scope for the exercise of their minds and means as can be secured elsewhere, is not a sectional, not a Southern, but a common union or constitutional right. Such, I am sure, was the design of all those who, as master workmen, built on the basis of the Confederation, the United States; such I believe to have been the sense of those who, after the most widely popular form of consultation, adopted the structure, and entered upon its occupancy, and such must be, for the truth is mighty and will prevail, the ultimate judgment even of those who, with the bigoted frenzy of crusaders would attain what their delirium deceives them by depicting as "the will of God."

And now, my dear sir, having, I fear, tediously and imperfectly met your comprehensive questions, let me advert to your intimation that you desire to publish my answer. It is unpleasant to be thought shy of avowing one's sentiments, but it is, perhaps, more unpleasant to be obtruding, as if important, opinions which may be esteemed worthless, and which are liable to be at once stigmatized as symptome of the prevalent epidemic for candidateship. I have scrupulously abstained, since quitting the Vice-Presidency in 1848 from invoking political notice, and this upon a variety of motives, some of domestic duty, some of distaste for the implied competition, some of different reluctance to seem, by even a shade, to differ from abler and better men, and some from a sedative suspicion that matters would in all likelihood roll on to their destination quite as well without as with me. Unless, therefore, you deliberately conclude that the ideas in this letter are such as may be, without a particle of reference to their bearing on myself, substantially useful to the country or the Democratic party, I hope you will abstain from any sort of promulgation. Owing you a return for the visit which you were kind enough to pay me in May last, I shall feel perfectly satisfied if what I have written be acceptable to you alone, and convince you how truly and respectfully I am, dear sir, your friend and obedient servant,
G. M. DALLAS.

Hon. GUY M. BRYAN.

Selections.

INEQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

WE take the following curious article, upon the above subject, from the *Greenville* (S. C.) *Patriot*:

In South Carolina the Senate is composed of forty-five members. The white population of the State is two hundred and eighty-three thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven men, women and children. The following Parishes, St. Thomas' and St. Dennis', St. James', Santee, St. Andrew's, St. Stephen's, Christ Church, St. John's Colleton, St. Paul's, St. John's Berkley, St. Helena, St. Luke, Prince William's, St. John's Goose Creek, St. George Dorchester, St. Peter's, All Saints, Prince George Winyaw, Williamsburgh, St. Bartholemew's, Orange, St. Mathew's, Claremont, Clarendon and Kershaw Districts, have a white population of forty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-seven persons. This, in numbers, is about one-sixth of the whole white population of the State, and yet these Parishes and Districts have a majority of the members in the Senate of South Carolina. They send twenty-three Senators to make laws for the State and rule the Senate, with a white population of 47,457. The other Districts, with a white population of 226,280 persons, are entitled to only twenty-two Senators. Now, is there the semblance of reason or justice for such gross inequality in the representation of the Republican people? Forty-seven thousand, in round numbers, having more influence in one branch of the Government, than two hundred and twenty-six thousand! With this basis of representation, confined to the lower country, what is the Senate but a House of Lords in South Carolina? And these lords are to drive us out of the Union!

In the Parish of St. Thomas and St. Dennis, there is a white population of *two hundred and ten persons*. The District of Pendleton has a white population of *twenty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-nine persons*. St. Thomas and St. Dennis may be ten or fifteen miles in extent of territory, and Pendleton is about seventy miles long and fifty broad. St. Thomas and St. Dennis have a slave population of only two thousand three hundred and eighteen, while Pendleton has a slave population of eleven thousand one hundred and ninety-three. St. Thomas and St. Dennis pays into the Treasury of the State, in the way of taxes, the sum of *two thousand and twenty dollars*, while Pendleton pays *seven thousand six hundred and fifty-eight dollars*. Yet this little Parish has as much power and influence in the Senate of the State, and in voting to break up the Union, as Pendleton District. Is it right? Is it according with the spirit of Republican Liberty, that Pendleton District, twenty times as large as St. Thomas and St. Dennis, one hundred and twenty-five times the white population, having five times as many slaves, and paying four times the amount of taxes, should have only the same influence and power in the Senate of the State?

Let us examine this matter a little further. When the State of South Carolina came out of the American Revolution, the population and wealth of the State were below. The upper country was, in a great measure, a wilderness, with a very sparse population, not much in wealth, and few slaves. The lower country had been long settled, possessed a great deal of wealth, and had controlled and governed the State entirely. In the formation of our constitution, these things naturally had their influence in fixing the basis of representation. But since that time, the condition of the country has changed. The upper part of the State has become densely populated, possessing great wealth, energy and improvement. The lower country and the Parishes have retrograded, or at least have not kept pace with the upper Districts in their growth and prosperity. It is, therefore, proper that there should be a change in our basis of representation, in order to equalize the political power of the State.

A man living in St. Thomas and St. Dennis is, compared to one living in Pendleton, a sort of noble, and on the same principle that the proudest Peer in England holds his seat in the House of Lords. It is true, he may be no better, although he lives in sight of Charleston, surrounded by swamps, than a citizen of the mountains, and he may not have half the intelligence and property of the mountaineer, yet, by the organization of one branch of our Government, he is equal to one hundred and twenty-five men living in Pendleton. One dollar of his money is worth to the State, it would seem, four dollars of theirs. One of his slaves counts for four of ours; and one acre of his land, though covered with alligators and bull-frogs, is equal to twenty in Pendleton.

We think these are evils which should be remedied, and should no longer be borne by a people who profess to live under a Republican form of Government. But if our Federal Government is to be broken up, and South Carolina to go out of the Union, it should be done *by the people of the State*, after mature reflection and consideration, and not by the Parishes. In matters of ordinary legislation, we have borne with and submitted to their power, but when a great revolution is to be undertaken, and the Government changed, the people, who will have to bear the burdens and pay the taxes, must be consulted in their power and strength.

The House of Representatives in South Carolina is composed of 124 members. The Districts of Pendleton, Edgefield, Spartanburg, Barnwell, Greenville, Abbeville, Laurens, Marion, Union and York, have a population of 144,386 white persons. This is more than one-half the white population of the State. But instead of electing one-half of the Senators and Representatives, these Districts have only *ten Senators* and *forty-five Representatives*. In other words, a majority of the white people are not permitted, by their Constitution, to have *one-fourth* of the Senators, and only about *one-third* of the Representatives.

The truth is, that all our agitation in South Carolina has come from the Parishes. All of this eternal clamour against the Federal Government, and alarm and consternation for evils which never accrue, have sprung up and taken root in the Parishes, and, by constant agitation, have spread over the State. So it was in the days of Nullification, in the Bluffton failure, and so it is now in this Slavery agitation. The people of the Parishes have been so much accustomed to lord it over everything at home, and in their own State, that they think, most conscientiously, it is nothing but right they should have their own way in the United States. All would be well if these gentlemen could control their own Parishes, the Parishes the State, and the State the United States. Then we should have a "Glorious Union!"

THE NEW LAW OF TREASON

It now appears that the monstrous doctrine recently promulgated by Judge Kane, from the bench of the District Court of the United States, in Pennsylvania, to his charge to the Grand Jury in relation to the Christiana rioters, reflects the views of the administration at Washington, and that the same construction of the law of treason is to be enforced by order of the Executive, against the parties recently arrested in his own State, for conniving at, or abetting, the escape of the alleged fugitive, Jerry, at Syracuse. Whether any arrests have yet been made under warrants for high treason in New York or not, we are not advised, but that orders to that effect have issued from Washington, is not disputed.

Should this purpose be executed, it will be, in our judgment, the most humiliating event in the history of the American people. We say this, entirely irrespective of the wisdom or folly of the Fugitive Slave law, and without regard to the merits of the institution of which that law is a legitimate offspring. We say it with a full recognition of the absolute and supreme necessity of enforcing the laws of our country, and their penalties against those who violate them.

The charge to which we refer, it will be remembered, was made by Judge Kane, for the purpose of explaining to the Grand Jury its duty in reference to certain persons arrested for high treason, as participators in the Christiana riots.

Our concern to-day is with the law of treason, which was promulgated on this occasion with the sanction, and doubtless from a brief, furnished by the administration at Washington. The following extract from the charge contains Judge Kane's definition of that crime, and its legal evidence:

> "Treason against the United States is defined by the constitution, art. 3, sec. 3, cl. 1, to consist in "levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.' This definition is borrowed from the ancient law. England, *Stat.* 25. *Edw.* 3. *stat.* 5, *chap* 3, and its terms must be understood of course in the sense which they bore in that law, and which obtained here when the constitution was adopted. The expression 'levying war,' so regarded, embraces not merely the act of formal or declared war, but any combination forcibly to prevent or oppose the execution or enforcement of a provision of the constitution, or of a public statute, if accompanied or followed by an act of forcible opposition in pursuance of such combination.
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> "The definition, as you will observe, includes two particulars, both of them indispensable elements of the offence. There must have been a combination or conspiring together to oppose the law by force, and some actual force must have been exerted, or the crime of treason is not consummated.
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> "The highest, or at least the direct, proof of the combining may be found in the declared purposes of the individual party before the actual outbreak; or it may be derived from the proceedings of meetings in which he took part openly, or which he either prompted or made effective by his countenance or sanction—commending counselling, and instigating, forcible resistance to the law. I speak, of course, of a conspiracy to resist a law, not the more limited purpose to violate it, or prevent its application and enforcement in a particular case, or against a particular individual. The combination must be directed against the law itself.
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> "But such direct proof of this element of the offence is not legally necessary to establish its existence. The concert of purpose may be deduced from the concerted action itself, or it may be inferred from facts occurring at the time, or afterwards, as well as before.
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> "Besides this, there must be some act of violence, as the result or consequence of the combining. But here, again, it is not necessary to prove that the individual accused was a direct, personal actor in the violence. If he was present, directing, aiding, abetting, counselling, or countenancing it, he is, in law, guilty of the forcible act. Nor is even his personal presence indispensable. Though he be absent at the time of its actual perpetration, yet if he directed the act, devised or knowingly furnished the means for carrying it into effect, instigated others to perform it, he shares their guilt. In treason there are no accessories."

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This definition commences with a misstatement of the constitution, which circumstances compel us to believe was deliberate. That instrument defines treason as follows:

> "Treason against the United States shall consist ONLY in *levying war* AGAINST THEM, or in *adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.* No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses *to the same overt act.*"

Judge Kane omits the word "*only*," which was designed to exclude every species of constructive treason, and materially qualifies the proof necessary to establish it. "Treason against the United States," it says, "shall consist *only* in levying war against them; the offence must be *overt*, and there must be two witnesses to the same overt act." Language could not be framed more effectually to exclude every species of constructive treason than this section of the constitution, which Judge Kane has thus misstated. And such was the view taken of it by Judge Wilson, who formerly presided in the Federal Circuit Court of Pennsylvania, and who, in the very first charge ever delivered by him from that bench, used the following language:

> "It well deserves to be remarked that, with regard to treason, a *new* and *great* improvement has been introduced into the government of the United States; under that government, the citizens have not only a legal, but a constitutional security against the extension of that crime, or the imputation of treason. Treasons, capricious, arbitrary, and *constructive*, have often been the most tremendous engines of *executive or legislative tyranny*."

It is under this article of the constitution that Judge Kane claims the authority to make treason by interpretation, and to convict a man who started from Philadelphia to notify the alleged fugitives at Christiana that a warrant under the Fugitive Slave Law has issued against them, from the United States Court at Philadelphia.

Judge Kane's next statement is as perversely false as his first. He says "our definition of treason is "borrowed from the ancient law of England," 25th Edward 3, stat. 5, "and its terms must be under-"stood, of course, in the sense which they bore in "that law, and which obtained here when the con-"stitution was adopted."

Now that our readers may see the extent of our obligations to the statute in question, we will quote its exact words:

> "Whereas, divers opinions have been, before this time, in what case treason shall be said, and in what not; the King, at the request of the Lords and Commons, hath made a declaration in the manner as followeth; that is to say, when a man doth compass or imagine the death of our lord the King, &c., or if a man do levy war against our lord the King in his realm, or be adherent to the King's enemies in his realm, giving to them aid and comfort in the realm or elsewhere, and thereof be probably attainted of open deed by people of their condition; and if a man counterfeit the great seal, &c. [enumerating several other cases]. And it is to be understood that in the cases above rehearsed, that ought to be adjudged treason which extends to our lord the King, and his royal majesty; and the forfeiture, &c. And, moreover, there is another kind of treason; that is to say, when a servant slayeth his master, &c., and because many other like cases of treason may happen in time to come, which a man cannot think or declare at this present time, it is accorded that if any other case supposed treason, which is not above specified, doth happen before any of the justices, the justices shall tarry without any going to judgment of the treason, till the cause be showed and declared before the King and his parliament, whether it ought to be adjudged treason or other felony."

This statute, which practically makes any violation of the laws of the realm treasonable, Judge Kane says must control the construction of our constitution, which recognises only two acts as treasonable; the levying of war against the United States, and giving aid and comfort to their enemies. "Upon this statute," says Judge Tucker, in his notes to Blackstone's Commentaries, "we may remark, there "are no negative words in it, as in the constitution "of the United States; and that, so far from declar-"ing, as that does, that treason shall consist *only* in "the cases enumerated, it expressly supposes that "many other cases of treason may happen, although "the framers of that Statute could not think of them "then."

The spirit in which the statute of Edward 3d was conceived, we trust was very different from that which prevailed in the convention which framed our constitution, and, that it was, will sufficiently appear from any of the numerous instances accumulated by Judge Tucker, in which the penalties of treason were enforced under it.

For example: Two persons were executed for "treasonable words;" the one, a citizen of London, who said he would make his son heir of the *crown*, being the sign of the house in which he lived! We do not know whether the judges construed this as conspiring or levying war against the King, but they certainly made treason of it. The other was a gentleman whose favourite buck the King killed in hunting; whereupon "he wished it, horns and all, in the belly of him who counselled the King to kill it." As the King killed it of his own accord, or was his own counsellor, the learned judges decided that the wish was against the King himself, and was therefore "treasonable."

The *Commonwealth*, of Boston, helps us to one or two other specimens of treason under the statute, which we are told by Judge Kane is now the law of the United States:

> "A riot having occurred in London, in which a mob of apprentices assembled to pull down some houses of ill-fame, Chief Justice Kellynge caused them to be indicted for treason, in *levying war against the King*. 'By levying war, is not only meant'—so Kellynge told the jury—'when a body is gathered together as an army, but if a company of people will go about any public reformation, this is high treason' These people do pretend their design was against brothels; now for men to go about to pull down brothels, with a captain, and an ensign, and weapons, who is safe?"
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> "It is high treason, because it doth betray the peace of the nation, and every subject is as much wronged as the King; and if every man may reform what he will, no man is safe; therefore the thing is of desperate consequence, and we must make this for a public example. There is reason we should be very cautious; we are but newly delivered from rebellion, and we know that that rebellion first began under the pretence of religion and the law; for the devil hath always this vizard upon it. We have great reason to be very wary that we fall not again into the same error. Apprentices in future shall not go on in this manner. It is proved that Bearsely went as their captain, with his sword, and flourished it over his head, and that Messinger walked about Moorfields with a green apron on the top of a pole. What was done by one was done by all; in high treason all concerned are principals.
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> "So the prisoners," says Lord Campbell in his Lives of the Chief Justices, "were all convicted of high treason; and I am ashamed to say that all the Judges concurred in the propriety of the conviction, except Lord Chief Baron Hale, who, as might be expected, delivered his opinion that there was no treason in the case, and treated it merely as a misdemeanour. Such a proceeding (viz. Kellynge's) had not the palliation that it ruined a personal enemy, or crushed a rival party in the start, or brought great forfeitures into the exchequer; it was a mere fantastic trick played before high heaven to make the angels weep."
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> "Yet this infamous decision of Kellynge's, with a slight modification, was adopted in the famous case of pulling down dissenting meeting-houses in Queen Anne's time; and that case, and one or two doubtful dicta of English writers, were made the foundation of the convictions for treason in the whiskey affair in Western Pennsylvania, but afterwards in Frie's case, in both of which cases, however, there were actual assemblages of armed men, in military array, with the professed intention of preventing the execution of the law in all cases whatsoever."

Such are some of the decisions to which Judge Kane appeals as a guide to the grand jury, in determining the crime and the punishment due, for what offences? We will use the language of the *National Era* for our answer. "An Anti-Slavery meeting is held in Lancaster county, in the neighbourhood of Christiana. The majority of those in attendance are known to be opposed to violence, but one or two of the speakers, in denouncing the Fugitive law, declare in the heat of the moment that so atrocious are its provisions they could not blame any one, against whom it was attempted to be enforced, for resisting. Soon after, the attempt to execute it is resisted by a fugitive, and several of his friends who rally to his aid. The speakers at the popular meeting, or some who were in attendance taking part in its proceedings, are arrested on the charge of treason" Now, see how these instructions of Judge Kane may be perverted by a grand jury. These men in a public meeting gave countenance or sanction to forcible resistance to the law—true, they were not present at the outbreak, but their language may be fairly construed as having *instigated* it. *They must be indicted.*

Again: a coloured man, acquainted with the fugitives, informs them that certain persons are on their track, and will soon be upon them. His object is to put them on their guard, so that they may save themselves. Is this *treason?* Has this man been guilty of "levying war against the United States?" Yes—says the grand jury—information of the presence and design of the claimant and his friends, was a part of the means necessary to enable others to *carry into effect* forcible resistance to the law: "he shares their guilt—in treason there are no accessories!"

Once more: a resident of the neighbourhood, attracted by the tumult, proceeds to the spot, and on being summoned to aid in the arrest of the slaves, declines to have anything to do with affair. He is guilty of treason, says the grand jury, for he is present, and his refusal to aid the offenders of the government is equivalent to giving "*countenance*" to those who are resisting—"he is in law guilty of the forcible act."

Every sentiment of justice and humanity revolts at the very thought of invoking the terrible penalty of high treason, *which is death and only death*, against such offences as these, and the meanest intelligence scoffs at the absurdity of construing any of them into a "levying of war."

There are many other features of this charge, which, by the course of the administration, is now made a matter of serious consequence; to which we had intended to allude, but the consideration of which, lack of space and time, compels us to defer. We cannot conclude, however, without an expression of our extreme mortification that such doctrines should have received the commendation of any democratic journal, whatever might be the views of its conductors in relation to the institution of Slavery.—*New York Evening Post.*

Free Soil in the Slave States.—C. M. Clay received 4000 votes in Kentucky for Governor. The Free Soil party is now fairly organized in that State. In Maryland the Free Soilers are also organizing. A letter to the Cecil *Democrat*, dated Chestertown, Maryland, Sept 22, says:

> "The Free Soilers meet here to-morrow, for the purpose of nominating a ticket, as they say. I do not know their strength, but it is said they can muster from fifty to seventy votes in the county."

COLONISATION IN JAMAICA.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BY THE HON. W. W. ANDERSON.

A lecture on the subject of the colonisation of the free colored people of this country in Jamaica, was delivered last evening in the Fifteenth street colored church, near Seventh Avenue, by William Wemyss Anderson, Esq., a gentleman who has resided in Jamaica for the last twenty years, and who came on here for the express purpose of laying the benefits of colonisation to that island before the colored people of the United States. The church was well filled, and the lecture was heard with the most absorbing interest. The following is a full report of the lecturer's remarks, which were delivered in an easy, conversational style, peculiarly adapted to the understanding of his audience. We earnestly direct attention to them because we think them highly important.

The object of my address to you this evening, he began, is to make you acquainted with the Island of Jamaica, in order that you may consider how far it would be expedient for the colored inhabitants of America to adopt that country and look upon it as their future home. It is evident to me that the United States is no proper home for the coloured man. In very many of the States he is not recognised as a citizen, and he is not, properly speaking, a part of the body politic. He has no interest in what is going on around him; he is a mere spectator, and is not permitted to take a part in those matters which are exercising the minds of those by whom he is surrounded. Public affairs are no affairs of his; and what, my friends, is the social position he occupies here? It is very painful to contemplate, and still more so to describe it.

As an Englishman and a man, I have been accustomed to consider that all men are equal, and entitled to the same political and social privileges. I doubt not that you also consider the deprivation of social and political privileges as an act of injustice, by which you are great sufferers. For my part I would not willingly live in a country where I was denied an equal participation in all the rights and privileges of a man. Now, is there any prospect that the position of the coloured race will become better in America? Is there any likelihood that those prejudices under which they have suffered so long, will soon abate? Is it not the deep-rooted conviction of every man who looks at the state of society here, with an intelligent mind, that those disqualifications will never be removed? Are there any signs of relaxation? What was the act of the State of Indiana but the other day? The Legislature of that State passed an act prohibiting any coloured man from making his habitation there for the future, and imposing fines and penalties upon any person making a contract with him. I would not remain where such a state of things existed, or make my home in a country where I was labouring under such disabilities.

Now, if it be the case that there is little hope in matters getting better here, does it not become a duty the coloured class owe to themselves to look out for a country where they and their children will be regarded as a portion of the political community, having the right to vote and govern, and to enter into any station or profession without being opposed by those prejudices which shut them out here from a perfect equality with others.

I will now, said Mr Anderson, present for your consideration the island of Jamaica, which is, in my opinion, far the most desired home for the coloured race of America. Washington Irving speaking of the island, in the life of Columbus, notices it in the following words: "Columbus had not sailed many leagues before the blue summits of a vast and lofty island, at a great distance began to rise like clouds above the horizon. It was two days and nights, however, before he reached its shores, filled with admiration as he gradually drew near, at the beauty of its mountains, the majesty of its forests, the fertility of its valleys and the great number of its villages, with which the whole face of the country was animated."

This is the description of the Island of Jamaica, as it first appeared to its great discoverer, and it is the description which justly applies to it at this hour. On the face of the habitable earth there is not a more delightful spot; even in point of climate and fertility it is much superior to anything I have seen in America or England. It is a far more beautiful country than either—and in all respects is more desirable than this as a home for the coloured people. It is a large island, about one hundred and fifty miles long and from thirty to eighty broad. The population is about 380,000, of which a vast proportion are coloured people. There are in fact only sixteen thousand white inhabitants to 364,000 coloured. The whites are therefore a mere handful in comparison with the great bulk of the population. The language spoken is the English, so that there is no difficulty on that point. The prevailing religion, the Protestant, but there are some Roman Catholics. A considerable number of the principal gentlemen of the country are coloured. The Legislature of the country, the House of Assembly, is composed in part of coloured gentlemen. A large part of the principal lawyers are coloured, as are also the physicians, leading merchants, and many of the most wealthy men on the island. They and the whites live together in great friendship and harmony; there is none of that unpleasant difference which exists here, man meets man there as a brother and an equal, no matter what his colour.

Of course there are some men of wealth and high education, who in this as in every other country, hold a superior position. I don't mean that the rich man and the poor are on an equal footing, for where in the world are they so; but I say the man who takes care of himself and his children, and gives them a good education—it matters not whether he is white or black—finds there is no hindrance to his advancement. There are certain barriers here which a coloured man cannot step over, no matter what his merits. There are none of those in Jamaica, and that island is consequently much better suited to him for a home.

The government is carried on by a House of Assembly and Council. The House of Assembly is elected by the people, for every man there who possesses a freehold—and there are very few who do not—is entitled to vote in the election of its members a number of whom, as I before intimated, are coloured gentlemen, and one of them has lately been raised to the Council on the nomination of the Queen. I hope, my friends, that you are not afraid of kings and queens; a good king or queen is never opposed to liberty, and I think the coloured inhabitants of Jamaica would rather live there under the Queen of England, than here under the President of the United States. They would not live where they would not be treated as equals, where every avenue to an honourable employment was not open to them. We have a Governor who may be regarded in the same light as a President. This Governor is generally an English nobleman sent out by the Queen, and remains there for a certain term of years. There is, therefore, a Governor, a Council, and House of Assembly, composing the government; and let me assure you there is no country in the world where freedom is more perfect, or complete. You may say what you please, so long as you don't disturb the peace of the country. Every man is protected by the laws—the poor as well as the rich.

It will, no doubt, be pleasant for you to hear also that there are many places of worship there, some of which are very fine and spacious; that the country is intersected by roads, the streams crossed by bridges and that cultivation extends even to the very summits of the mountains. In going to Jamaica, therefore, you do not emigrate to a wild uncultivated country, but to a country which presents many inducements, both in an agricultural and manufacturing point of view. Large tracts of level open land may be obtained there, at a comparatively low price, while there is abundant employment for labourers, and those who wish to settle down as farmers.

The products of the island are most numerous and abundant. Jamaica yields corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, peas and beans. But these are not all, for it produces also Indian corn, Guinea corn, and we have our sweet potatoes, turnips, carrots, and everything of the kind that grows in these States, and many more than are raised here; there also sugar, coffee, chocolate, ginger, yams, plantains, bananas, figs, grapes, arrow root, tapioca, vegetable oils, ground nuts, cotton, tobacco, and a great variety of fruits, among its productions. The pine apples I may also mention, are grown there in great abundance, and also many kinds of spices.

The climate, to my mind, is peculiarly mild, and pleasant; it is almost perpetual summer, we are never visited by frost or snow; but we have still different degrees of temperature. There is a range of mountains running the entire length of the Island, some portions of which are eight thousand feet above the level of the sea; but generally speaking, their average altitude is from two to three thousand feet, and these are capable of the highest degree of cultivation. These mountains are intersected by streams of the purest water—indeed the country abounds so much in rivers, that one of its names signifies the Island of Springs.

The soil is remarkably fertile—so much so, that it does not require more than the labour of a day and a half in one week to till it, to procure a year's support, and this, too, with the miserable implements to be found there. But if the improved modes of cultivation which prevail here, were transferred to that island, the result would be most astonishing. The people there do not understand farming well, as the principal capitalists have hitherto devoted all their time and money to the planting of sugar and coffee, to the entire neglect of general farming: so that if a body of intelligent agriculturalists would go there, they could do a great deal

The employment and wages to be obtained in Jamaica depend to a great extent upon the class of men who may emigrate. Men who have been employed upon farms here, can get work there with the greatest ease. I find, however, that the rate of wages given upon a farm here, to a labourer, is generally from ten to twelve dollars a month with his board and lodging. For that he works six days in the week, and he works long hours each day. Now they are not accustomed in Jamaica to board the labourers on the farms; they pay them by the week—a very bad practice. I know the planters of Jamaica would prefer labourers who would engage by the month or year, and instead of giving them their boarding and lodging, they would much rather give them a house and piece of land, and one day in the week to enable them to look after their own affairs, and to work on their own land. The terms they would offer those who went out there for employment, would, therefore, be a house and piece of land, and about ten dollars a month for five days work in the week. An industrious man might make a handsome thing of those advantages. I have spoken to our planters, and told them that the farm labourers in America obtained a better rate of wages, when they replied that they would be very willing to give American wages if they could only obtain American work. Our agricultural labourers are not fond of work; they do not like to give so long a day's work as a farmer here expects from his men.

There is a plan, I understand, in America of working farms on shares. I think there are many planters in Jamaica who would be content to work their plantations on shares, and to give the use of their land, mills and boiling houses, and everything necessary for the cultivation of the soil, provided they could get a fair half. This plan, I have no doubt, would be advantageous to both parties—the labourer would have a house and land of his own, and a share in the proceeds of the soil. Then there are various kinds of tradesmen that might do well; for instance, coopers are very much wanted in Jamaica, as their coopers are very poor workmen, and there are very few of them.

Now let it be understood that I do not advise every one to go to Jamaica. There are many here whose duty it is to remain under the many disadvantages which they have to encounter. I merely say, that for certain men it would be a great benefit to change the one country for the other. To men who have a little means, and who would buy land and settle down there, I think it would be well for them to do so. The opportunity of rearing your children in a perfectly free country, where you would have freedom indeed, should, I think, be one of the greatest inducements that could be presented to you No one says you have freedom here; you are shut out from the benefits of free institutions; you have no part in the government of the country What I say to every man, therefore, who has a family—and I know what that is—go to a country where you will be recognised as citizens, and acknowledged as the equal of every man you see around you—where you will be allowed a share in the government and in the management of your own affairs. You would have no difficulty there in becoming citizens and subjects of the Queen of England.

I do not know that there is any other country which could offer you the same advantages Canada, I know does not. It is a cold country, with a most severe winter; then the great bulk of the population is composed of a different race, and it is destined to be peopled by Europeans. But the great advantage which Jamaica has over it, is that it is essentially a coloured country There, the whites are a mere handful, and, instead of being at variance with the coloured people, they are on the most amicable terms with them.

There are no people more attached to their government than the coloured inhabitants of Jamaica, and they would fight for the Queen of England to the last drop of their blood, and well they may, for the English government has done everything for them You are doubtless well aware that in order to secure the emancipation of the slaves, that government paid one hundred millions of dollars, so that there is not a slave now breathing under the dominion of England.

I may be asked how is it that, with these many advantages, the people of Jamaica are so backward? I answer, it is because there are no skilful farmers there. This is not the case in Jamaica alone; it is so in all countries where Slavery has existed, or still exists. I am told that, in the southern States, all kinds of agriculture are in a backward state, and this backwardness we have not yet been able to get over in Jamaica. We still work there with the hoe; and, what will surprise you even more, the labourer takes in his corn and picks off the grains with his fingers!

It will be seen that we are very far back, therefore, in agriculture, and that there is a great deal to be done. But there is nothing in all this to discourage you; there is a fine country, a beautiful climate, and cheap land I spoke to a Mr. Meyer, who is a wealthy man here, about the great want of agricultural implements in the Island, and he sent out one of his clerks to establish a store in Kingston. It is a great satisfaction to me that I have thus been the means of introducing an improved system of agriculture into Jamaica.

The prices which are given a man for anything he raises are very high. For a bushel of corn he can get from one dollar and a quarter to one dollar and a half, while the price here for the same quantity is from thirty-seven to fifty cents Then for milk you will obtain twelve cents a quart, which is eight cents more than is paid for it here. I mention these things to show what may be done there by an industrious man. In the United States the race will never be built up as a people; they must seek a country where they can become an independent nation Now it appears to me that Jamaica is eminently adapted for their home.

Mr. Anderson next referred to the superior facilities which Jamaica possessed for the establishment of manufactures of every kind, but more especially for cotton mills, and concluded by expressing it as his opinion that nothing could be done towards the emancipation of the slaves in the south while the free coloured people of the north remained in their present humble condition. They should emigrate to Jamaica, where, as an independent nation, they might exercise a great moral influence upon Slavery in the United States.—*Evening Post.*

PART OF DANIEL WEBSTER'S HISTORY.

Gen. Wilson [Says the *Worcester Spy*] in a late speech unveils an item of the great traitor's life and that of his party which should not be forgotten. He says:

After you, sir, and I had left the National Convention, our friends in this Commonwealth who could not sustain the "nomination not fit to be made," called a mass State Convention. That Convention met on the 28th day of June on the spot where we now stand. Several of these young men—some of them now with us, and others who have retreated with their great leader—came here to the Convention. They told us Mr. Webster was with us—they begged us to refer to him with kindness and confidence in our addresses and resolutions—and by their assurances and importunities they induced the thousands of Anti-Slavery men of the Convention to adopt resolutions expressing confidence in Mr. Webster, and calling upon him "to follow the dictates of his own great heart and the convictions of his own great intellect, and take the lead in maintaining the cause of human liberty in America" (applause). A few days after the Convention, I called upon Mr. Webster in compliance with his written invitation now in my possession. He said that he "had read the Addresses and Resolutions, and that he cordially approved the principles embodied in them."

He expressed his gratification at the kind personal allusions contained in them, and his personal respect for, and confidence in Stephen C. Phillips, Judge Allen, Samuel Hoar, and other distinguished men who took part in the doings of that Convention.—"Sir," said he to me, "what do you intend to do?" I told him that we intended to make a public sentiment that should sustain our public men in the free States in sustaining our principles, and forever crush those public men who were recreant to those principles" (great applause). "Mr. Wilson," said he with great emphasis, "if you will do that, you will deserve the gratitude of the country. There is no North. When I have stood up in Congress and opposed the encroachments of Slavery, I have been deserted by members of New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, New York, and sometimes by men in and out of Congress of our own State. We have always been defeated by the treachery of Northern men, and if you can make a public opinion that shall compel them to be true, the whole battle will be won" (applause). This language Mr. Webster addressed to me in his own office early in July, 1848. Now he is making pilgrimages over the country denouncing the men who maintain with fidelity the opinions he three years ago professed to entertain, "as fanatics, men of one idea, enemies to the Constitution and the Union." Some of his friends who came here on the 28th of June, 1848, and begged us to speak kindly of Mr. Webster, who, they assured us, sympathised in our views, are now holding on our tracks because we are firm in maintaining the great principles we then announced. His and their loyalty to the Union now is quite as disinterested and sincere as were his and their devotion to our sentiments in 1848. Disappointed hopes of the Presidency, influenced him then—hopes of the Presidency, to be disappointed, influence him now (great applause).

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* Sydney Howard Gay, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* Francis Jackson, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* Sydney Howard Gay, *New-York.*

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1851.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society will hold its Annual Fair at the Ladies Room of the Depot at Weymouth Landing, commencing on Monday Evening, November 3d, and closing Friday evening, the 7th.

The collection of articles offered for sale will be unusually large and attractive, including alike the useful and the beautiful. Addresses will be delivered on the evening of Thursday, the 6th, at the Universalist Meeting House, by interesting and distinguished speakers. There will be music at the Fair each evening, and no exertion will be spared to render the occasion both pleasing and profitable to all who shall feel sufficiently interested in this cause of humanity to give it their attendance.

PREACHING IN SYRACUSE.

The Union Committee, emphatically children of this world, have shown themselves, nevertheless, to be truly wise in their generation, in the use to which they have put so many of the clergymen of this city during the last year. Mr. Webster's employment of Dr. Stuart of Andover to defend himself and the Fugitive Slave Law, perhaps, taught his Castle Garden followers to how excellent a purpose their chaplains of the Union Guard here might be put; but whether that were so or not, they seriously considered the truth uniformly taught by the Abolitionists, of the immense influence of the Church; and having set a dozen or so of Doctors of Divinity, and clergymen of lower degree, to preaching upon the divine origin of Slavery and the consequent religious duty of man-hunting, they printed these sermons, and scattered them broad-cast over the land. Certainly such seed has borne fruit, and many a devout Church-member is, at this moment, mindful of how thankful he should be that the Rev. Dr. Spring, or Rev. Dr Cox, or some other 'vessel,' was as an instrument of saving grace to him, so that now he may thank God that his will is strong, and his legs active, to the running down of any man, woman, or child, that the blessed and divine Institution of our Southern brethren may claim as owing service thereto. Boston, and New York, Buffalo, and Philadelphia have faithfully obeyed the teachings of these spiritual shepherds, and the pious man-hunter, when he considers how great a struggle, in the capture of an accursed son of Noah, there must be, with the carnal and natural man, may be thankful in view of his success so far, and take courage, and gird up his loins for future work. If the Union Committee would follow up the capital stroke of policy with which they have already succeeded so well, by exerting their influence with Government to recognise such men as Spring and Cox, and Stuart, and Dewey as special clerical constables who shall be attached as chaplains to the United States Commissioners' Courts, to open them with prayer on the occasion of a slave case, and to head the procession, in clerical robes and with Bible in hand, when the slave is marched from the Hall of Justice on his way to the Southern home awaiting him, they might then count upon such an influence upon the public mind as would bring their own special duties to a speedy termination.

But if the seasons will repay the husbandman of tares an hundred fold in the harvest of poisonous weeds, the sower of good seed also shall gather into barns. All preaching is not such as meets the approval of the Union Committee, and its allies, and what its fruit is a late No. of the *Syracuse Star* thus tells us:

> Preachers of Sedition.—Our good city of Syracuse has been infested for many years with a corps of pulpit Abolitionists—some black, others white—some fugitives from labour, and since the recent riot, fugitives from justice—others, if report speaks truly, equally guilty, and if not also fugitives from justice, it is for the reason that they had more "discretion" and less "valour" than their black brethren Ward and Loguen.
>
> These preachers of sedition have been especially active during the past year, in exhorting their hearers to rebellion against them with all the power they possessed, *to resist that law even to death*—and have declared in conventicles and conventions that *they* would aid them in such resistance.
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> The consequences of such "spiritual instruction" have been melancholy in the extreme. The moral atmosphere of the city has become poisoned Men who, in other communities, would be conspicuous for their adherence to law and order, are here either silent when the law is outraged, or, what is worse, open and loud-mouthed brawlers on the side of rebellion The corruption of the priesthood has extended to the laity, and, as is very natural, those habitually vicious and demoralized, gladly avail themselves of the example afforded them by ministers and church members, and when accused of ruffianism, appeal to the teachings of the Rev. Mr ——, or Elder ——, or Deacon —— Poor, ignorant negroes, deluded by such teachings, have openly paraded our streets for a year past, with arms in their hands, in direct violation of a law of the State, and when remonstrated with by respectable citizens, on the impropriety of such a procedure, have threatened to "blow them through."
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> Such is a faint picture of the state of society in Syracuse, caused by the preaching of Abolition ministers, the harangues of Abolition orators, and the proceedings of Abolition conventions. Here alone, of all the cities in the State, the truly pious and Christian ministers of the gospel are reviled and slandered—here the greatest and purest statesmen of the age are pronounced "damnable" and "devilish"—here the Constitution of the United States, which Washington and his great and good contemporaries of the revolutionary age deemed an invaluable blessing to the American people, is stigmatized as a "compact with hell." In a word, all reverence, either for the Bible, the Church or the Constitution, is at an end, so far as the followers of our higher law preachers are concerned. They "damn incontinently" whatever in matters of theology or law, or civil polity, does not chime with their absurd and disorganizing notions of a law higher than the Bible—higher than the Constitution.
>
> The disgraceful riot of the first of October was the legitimate consequence of the teachings of these preachers of rebellion. The mob which caused that riot was organized at a caucus of Abolitionists; conspicuous among whom were some of the "reverend" preachers alluded to. For the acts of the mob they are therefore strictly responsible, and will in due time be held amenable to the laws of their country, wherever they may be apprehended. A flight to Canada will avail them not. Under our treaty with Great Britain they must be given up, even if they take refuge in Windsor Castle or the palace of St James.

This "villainous conduct of a portion of the clergy," as the *Journal of Commerce* calls it, is corroborated by the statement of a correspondent of the *Albany Register*, who says:

> The ministry and the politicians bore a conspicuous part in getting up the recent riot and outrage; and some of the former gentry, not satisfied with what they had done in the streets, took the subject into their pulpit on Sunday, and not only desecrated the day by fulminating their treasonable doctrines of resistence to the execution of the laws, but disgraced their sacerdotal robes by assuming the character of political demagogues, and endeavouring to stir up sedition against the government and laws, among their congregations.

Of course we must make due allowance for the natural disposition of such writers, and the influence of education and association which lead them to confound the Bible and the Constitution, the Fugitive Slave Law and the Sermon on the Mount, as if they had a common origin, were equally entitled to reverence, and were infused with the same spirit. Barring this mental obliquity and the confused statement to which it leads, we rejoice in such testimony to the truthful moral condition to which preaching has brought the people of Syracuse. Her preachers are verily preachers of the Gospel in holding up, inasmuch as they do it, the Constitution of the United States and the Fugitive Slave Law to the execration of their hearers, and in exhorting them to a peaceful but firm disobedience of the requirements of the latter, and to a disregard of the former as a wicked covenant for the support and protection of the whole system of Slavery. "By their fruits ye shall know them;" and what better fruit could they bring forth than precisely that obedience to the Higher Law which, disregarding the iniquitous statutes of man's making, and mindful of the everlasting decrees of Eternal Justice, snatched the slave Jerry from the hands of his captors, and sent him on his way rejoicing to a land where the assertion of the inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, is not held as a mere rhetorical flourish, but as a practical truth? We would that there was such preaching everywhere; that in every pulpit of the land the Fugitive Slave Law was measured by the great principles of the New Testament, and disobedience to it, so far as may be consistently with other duties, enjoined as the requirement of Christian morality. The escape of Jerry from the United States Government at Syracuse is an event as much to be rejoiced at as the escape of Kossuth from Austrian despotism; and the clergy of Syracuse, so far as they conduced to that result by their preaching are as much to be commended as the Government of the Sublime Porte for the hospitality and aid it extended to the unfortunate exile. And if we are reproached here for illustrating a Christian duty by Mahometan virtue, we may reply that the law of the Alkoran is not so imperfect as that which is held up by our pro-slavery divines as worthy of the reverence and obedience of Christian disciples; and that those ministers among us who inculcate so much as Heathen morality stand out in bold relief from their fellow-divines.

Is it worth while here to render impossible any honest misunderstanding of the doctrine we are advocating? Worth while, certainly, for our own sakes, to speak always in the most guarded language, but not with any expectation that such papers as we have been quoting from will ever heed the truth when a lie will better serve the purpose. The editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, for instance, though a man of high worldly position, and eminent for his church-piety, is, where Abolitionists are concerned, an habitual and shameless liar. He is not more regular or more devoted in his daily prayers, his observance of the Sabbath, or of the monthly communion, than he is in a systematic misrepresentation of Anti-Slavery people; in maliciously attributing to them motives which, he knows, do not exist, and in holding them up to public contempt and hatred for principles and purposes which he is perfectly sure they never entertained, and never aimed at. He of the *Syracuse Star*, we judge from some assertions in the article we have quoted, is another of the same sort as the editor of the *Journal*. They, therefore, will not heed any caveat we may enter against a misrepresentation of the sentiments we have here advanced. Nevertheless we hate bloodshed; we hate anarchy; we hate violent transgression of established law; and we believe in moral suasion; in peaceful revolution; and in peaceful disobedience, for conscience's sake, to iniquitous statutes. This is our general rule, and what we usually advocate. The exceptions we note as they come along. As for instance we would rather that the slave of Gorsuch should shoot his master, if so he could only avoid capture, than that he should again be made a slave; and we unfeignedly rejoice in that preaching which led the people of Syracuse to take Jerry out of the Commissioner's Court and set him running on his way to Canada. We would that there was more such preaching, and more such harmless but determined resistance which defies the Government, and which if persisted in, would finally conquer it.

WHIG DEFEATS.

It is not with any very strong emotion that we refer to the defeat of the Whigs in Ohio and Pennsylvania, in their gubernatorial elections, last week, for so far as that party is good for anything it is when it is handsomely beaten, and put upon its good behaviour and a short allowance of office. If it will be any satisfaction to anybody, however, we have no reluctance in acknowledging that we rather regret the defeat of Governor Johnston. The man who, while in office, was so little of a Whig, and so much of a man as to avow his hostility to the Fugitive Slave Law; as to meet Mr. Webster on a public occasion, without referring, either for the sake of courtesy, illustration, politics, or religion, to the salvation of the Union, its Saviour, or the Compromise Measures; and who withheld his official sanction to the repeal of the Anti-Slave-Catching law of Pennsylvania, deserved better things than an ignominious defeat. The next best thing, however, that can be wished for him is, that in doing these three things he so well knew what he was about that he counts it greater glory that they have cost him an election.

The *Harrisburg* (Pa.) *American* explains, in a very plain-spoken way—proving thereby our assertion that Whigs defeated and out of office are good for something—how this was brought about. We take this paragraph from its article, which has commenced its journey through the Whig papers, with comments or no comments, according to the local position of the party in various places, and the dispositions of the various editors copying it.

> In 1848 the Whig National Convention nominated Zachary Taylor and Millard Filmore as the standard bearers of the Whig party in that contest. The nomination of Gen. Taylor was effected after a severe struggle. Wm. F. Johnston was a member of that Convention. *It was at his suggestion that the Pennsylvania Delegation cast their votes for Millard Fillmore.* In consequence of that nomination Mr. Fillmore was elected Vice President, and in consequence of that election he is now the President of the United States. After the Convention adjourned in 1848, Wm. F. Johnston became the Whig candidate for Governor of this State. He canvassed the State with untiring industry, and it was due to his efforts mainly that Pennsylvania voted for Gen. Taylor and Millard Fillmore, and *thereby made them the President and Vice President of the United States.* How does Mr. Fillmore requite these efforts? We will tell the public. Mr. Fillmore, we believe, is not personally hostile to Gov. Johnston. We believe he is too honest a man utterly to forsake and seek to ruin the men and party to whom he owes his present place. But we do know that he retains in his Cabinet a man who has publicly, *and within the limits of our own State, expressed an earnest hope that Gov. Johnston would be defeated.* This is an undoubted fact, and is within the knowledge of many of the best citizens of Pennsylvania. Daniel Webster is the man who has thus deserted the Whig party of the State, and plotted to secure the defeat of its nominee. We say this with regret, but we know it to be true, and we wish the people of the State to understand that through the hostility of men like Mr. Webster, the Whig party of Pennsylvania is now in a minority. *Mr. Fillmore is and was aware of this hostility* How far, therefore, he is responsible for the result of these schemes, we leave a candid public to judge.

What the judgment of the public will be will depend upon its candour certainly, but then its candour is dependent upon a great many contingencies. The *New York Express*, for instance, does not believe a word of all this, and has its own way for accounting "for the milk in the Cocoa Nut." Governor Johnston, it says, gained some Abolition votes, in small counties, "but in such a business county as Schuylkill the bottom of the whole Whig tub fell out." And why? For this reason;

> The Schuylkill People are for a Tariff for Protection, even with their now 500 Bigler majority, and Johnston loss of 1226. They reason in this way: "Protection is a mutuality. Here is our Governor Johnston at war with the Whigs in fifteen slaveholding States,—with all their interests, but most especially with that interest about which they are the most sensitive. We

want *their* votes to change the Tariff on coal and iron. *We want Protection.* Now, it is no way to get it to re-elect a Governor who not only withholds Protection from these fifteen States, but who threatens them with more agitation,—nay, even to strip them of the existing protection guaranteed in the Compromise Bills, by such Tariff Whigs as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and the like." This sort of thinking has changed Schuylkill from a Whig county of 726 majority to 500 Loco Foco.

So it was in the house of his friends that Governor Johnston was betrayed, even according to the acknowledgement of the *Express*. The difference between its own statement and that of the Harrisburg paper is, after all, not very great. If Mr. Webster is not personally responsible for the defeat of his party, Mr. Webster's friend are.

But the *Express* would have its readers bear in mind the distinction that exists between the Whig party as a national party, and the Whig party merely as a State organization. It further says:

> We observe that some of our Whig friends in Pennsylvania, now, after this defeat, utterly despair of any change in the Tariff which will promote their interests. This defeat brings no disaster to the Protective Tariff interest; for the Northern Whigs must have the votes of Southern Whigs to better the Tariff, and these they never can have until Northern Whigs are willing to give as well as demand Protection. Kentucky, North Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Tennessee, Missouri and Virginia, which are to give us Protective Tariff votes, are just as much interested, it may be wrongfully, but nevertheless just as much interested, in having their slave property protected by the Federal Constitution and the Federal Government as Pennsylvania is in her coal and iron. To have protection for herself, Pennsylvania must show a disposition to give protection to her sister States. Protection, we repeat, is a mutuality—a reciprocity—and the South have their great interests to protect as well as the North.

Whiggery, then, is sound as ever in Pennsylvania, and in the election of Bigler assures the South that her Protective interest—namely, the privilege of man-hunting—can be had for a Tariff on coal and iron.

But if the Union is saved again in Pennsylvania, it needs saving still as much as ever in Ohio. If what the *Express* says be true of the state of things in the latter State, the present organization of the Whig party is in a hopeless condition. It declares:

> But if "Cotton" has been at work in Pennsylvania, "Wool" did the work in Ohio. The Giddingses, the Roots, and the others in Northern Ohio who have been trying to convert the Whig Party into an Abolition Party, being indignant that they could not do it, have practically gone over to Loco Focoism, and contributed to swell the majorities of the Loco Foco candidate for Governor. Abolitionism has subtracted so much from the Whig Party, and added so much to Loco Focoism, that the Whig Party is in the minority. "Wool" stands responsible for all this. The Parties and Presses accountable for it are those who have been for years poisoning the Whig public mind. Wherever their tongues are heard, or their printed sheets are spread, Whigs go through the chrysalis state, first, of being Abolitionists, and then, of course, becoming Loco Focos. Hence such old fashioned Whig counties as Cuyahoga elect Loco Focos to office; and Ashtabula is destined, under the lead of Giddings, soon to follow.

Messrs. Giddings, Root, and others of their coadjutors, however, long ago disclaimed allegiance to the Whig party, and probably many in Ohio who follow their lead were never of it. But, read the result of the election in that State as we will, it seems certain that her people are not disposed to barter her soil as slave-hunting ground at the bidding of any party.

THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.

THE *New Orleans Delta* gives a very clear and candid explanation of the revolt in Mexico, which, if successful, will presently offer another territory about as large as Texas, and with a population variously estimated at from 200,000 to 340,000, as a new market for the Domestic Slave Trade, and a new area over which to extend the blessings of the Union. It says:

> The intelligence of a successful revolution in Mexico, will excite profound interest throughout the country, and *particularly in the South, where the necessity of counteracting the ambitious designs of the Northern portion of this Confederacy, by the acquisition of new territory, friendly to, and identical with, the South, has been felt as the only security against the final destruction and overthrow of our institutions.* We have long been cognizant of the design, which this news would lead us to believe and hope has been consummated.
>
> The Mexican Government has not been able to extend the protection which was due to the people of the Northern States of her weak and nearly dissolved Republic, and our Government has neglected to fulfil the solemn obligations of the Treaty of Guadaloupe, which bound it to protect the frontier States of Mexico from the depredations of numerous bands of savage and warlike Indians, who have nearly rendered this beautiful country a waste. Actuated by this strong necessity, as well as by a desire to open this rich and productive region to American emigration and enterprise, a plan has for some time occupied the minds of the leading men in the States of Tamaulipas, New Leon, Coahuila, and perhaps others, to revolutionize those States and declare them independent of the Republic of Mexico. Several of the most prominent citizens of Western Texas are connected with this movement.
>
> The country embraced in the scope of the designs of the revolutionists, forms one of the richest and most valuable portions of Mexico, and is admirably adapted to the production of our staples, as well as for grazing and other purposes. It would constitute an immensely valuable accession to the Southern portion of this Union. Recent experience has demonstrated the insecurity and perpetual annoyances to which our people are subjected, from the want of a good, safe, and proper natural boundary, separating our territory from that of Mexico. The Rio Grande is no boundary at all. Savage tribes and lawless robbers can commit their depredations on one side, and pass to the other, with a facility which gives perfect impunity to depredation, and keeps the whole frontier in a continual state of disorder and disturbance. A more secure and effectual boundary will be found in the Sierra Madre, the passes of which can be easily guarded. When the treaty of Guadaloupe was under consideration, we strongly advocated the Sierra Madre line, and demonstrated the impracticability of the Rio Grande boundary. There is not a man who has travelled in the valley of the Rio Grande, who has not been painfully impressed with the utter insecurity of that line, and with the necessity of acquiring the territory north of the Sierra Madre.
>
> We rejoice that a movement has been started with that object. It will command our warm support. The extraordinary proofs of hostility to the acquisition of Southern territory, which have lately been given at the North, in their opposition to Cuban independence, have impressed us more strongly than ever with the necessity of *prompt and antagonistic action on the part of the South.* In the bitterness of their sectional hostility to the South, they were ready to forswear all the cherished principles of our Government, and all those humane sympathies and feelings which have heretofore characterized our whole population. Let us be warned by these manifestations, and take care of ourselves

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ARRESTS AT SYRACUSE.—In obedience to the commands of the President, arrests have at length been made at Syracuse of certain persons charged with aiding and abetting the release of Jerry, the fugitive slave. They are Moses Summers, part proprietor of the *Onondaga Standard*; James Davis, a butcher; Stephen Porter, a butcher; and William Thompson, a coloured man. Ira H. Cobb was also arrested, but excused, at present, because of illness.

The prisoners were taken to Auburn before Judge Conklin, who issued the warrants, and after a long examination, which lasted several days, were bound over for trial. They are charged, not with Treason, but a violation of the Fugitive Slave Law. A man by the name of Salmon, from Oswego, is also among them. We have no room for the examination this week, but shall publish it in full in our next number.

On the arrest of these persons at Syracuse, the bells were tolled to bring the Vigilance Committee together, and the amplest arrangements were made to give all necessary aid to the prisoners. The public sympathy is clearly on their side.

☞ SOUTH CAROLINA has decided in her last election, not to go out of the Union, at least, without company. The Secession party, however, profess not to be discouraged by this defeat, and believe that they will yet be able to establish a separate government. Our only regret is that they have not done it already, though the *Journal of Commerce* comforts us with the assurance that it will be done if we fail to catch all Southern runaways. The more of that work the North has to do the more she will not do it; so South Carolina may have "better luck next time."

☞ WE are indebted to the Hon. WM H. SEWARD for a copy of his masterly plea as counsel in the great Michigan Conspiracy case, which has recently been tried at Detroit. It is a complete history of events which have caused more excitement, and involved more interests, than any other that have ever occurred in that section of country.

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. XC.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent bewaileth the deadness of the Times—He praiseth himself—Painteth out the true Source of Contemporary History—He discourseth of Vacuums—And of Coalitions—The Whig Farms—Their seizin in danger—Their alarm—A pleasant Concert—Coalitions this year—National Democrats—Their patriotism and their snouts—Love of enemies—The Dedham Conventions—The Correspondent providentially there—He is disgusted—But, again, refreshed—Almost to Surfeiting—He describeth the Democratic Convention—He compassioneth Time—He celebrateth Mr. Childs in choice metaphor—The upshot—The offshoot—Democracy divided and defined—Proposed State Convention—Its Objects—Elevation of Judge Curtis—Ungrateful Act—The true deserver—Mr. Thomas, &c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, October 20th, 1851.

I really scarcely know how to begin, continue or end this letter. The times are so dead—so *very* dead. But if nothing *will* happen, that's not my fault, you know. For I am not of that kind of Correspondents that are not particular about their facts having happened, provided they make up well. Now, if there is anything for which I must have established my character with all your readers, it is for the literal and exact accuracy of all my narratives. I make no pretensions to fancy, or skill. "I am a plain, blunt man, and only speak right on." But what I say may always be taken *au pied de la lettre.* "No looking-glass is half so true." This, indeed, is all that gives their acknowledged value to my lucubrations. When future inquirers wish to go to the fountain-head of history, and to obtain an exact knowledge of Receptions, Public Dinners, Fourth of July Orations, Processions and other Remarkables, it will be to my truthful pages that they will have to repair, "and in their golden urns draw light." So you will perceive how doubly perplexing must be a *vacuum* of matter to one who has not imagination to fill it up, and is too scrupulous to use it if he had. Nature cannot abhor a *vacuum* half as much as I do such an one. But, as I suppose you will insist upon your letter, I will do my best to fill up the usual number of paragraphs. At any rate, I have got off one.

I can think of nothing to tell of but the progress of the Coalitions—Truck and Dicker the Whigs used to call it: but since its success last winter, they have been too angry to try and make fun of it. It is a serious reality which seems likely to oust them from the fee-simple which they have conceived themselves to be seized of in this little farm of Massachusetts. The Whigs, as you know, have generally been in a minority in this State, and have ruled it by means of the divisions of the majority. The Union of the majority, last year, by means of which it helped itself to its lawful inheritance, created as great a hubbub among the poor Whigs as an Insurrection of Slaves might do, at the South. You would suppose that the convicts in the States Prison had broken loose and taken possession of the Government, such was the horror and astonishment expressed by the Whigs at this interference with their vested rights by the majority of the people. It was uncommonly pleasant to hear them howl. This year, again, they seem to have a fearful looking-for of the same sort of judgment. And with some reason. For the Coalitions have been made in nearly all the Counties, so that the fact of a Coalition Senate is almost a fixed one. The chief declaration of impediments, the only forbidding of the banns which has anything of an ugly look, comes from the National Democrats, those patriotic citizens who think the sacrifice of Massachusetts a small matter so that they can have a chance to insinuate their snouts into the National swill-trough. You would be astonished to see the admiration which these displays of public virtue excite in the Whigs. The less said about the Christianity of such fellows, the better; but it *does* seem as if they did love their enemies.

The most remarkable ebullition yet of this patriotic zeal occurred at Dedham at the Democratic Convention for Norfolk County. It chanced, by one of those favourable accidents which so frequently befall one, that I found myself in the town of Dedham, upon that day. It needs not to be said that I failed not to attend the two Conventions which were held there. Of the Free Soil Convention I soon had enough. The most disgusting unanimity prevailed in it, and I soon left it to see whether my Democrats would not furnish better entertainment. I was not disappointed in them. It was not only very good entertainment, but plenty of it; indeed, almost too much, inasmuch as they prolonged the rich repast from ten in the morning until near ten at night. The real question was Coalition or No Coalition. For at the first going off, the Free Soilers had sent a very *Barkis*-ish sort of message to the Democrats, to the effect that they were "willing," but were obliged to wait long hours before they received any reply to their overtures. It was plain from a test question as to the admission of a disputed delegate, that the Coalitionists had, in the morning, about five and twenty majority. The Hunker game, then, was to talk against Time. And however often poor Time might have been talked against before, he had enough of it then. The only hope of the Hunkers was, that the Coalition members of the Convention might be tired out and sent weeping to their beds, and the field be left to them: or that the Free Soil Convention, tired of cooling their heels in the ante-chamber, might go off in dudgeon. Their principal champion in this wise was a Mr. Childs, of Dorchester, who did himself infinite credit by the amount of nothing which he could spread over any quantity of time. The charms of his elocution were set off by the brazen graces of his brow. He could have looked Friar Bacon's Brazen Head out of countenance, and had enough to spare for a Chime of Bells. At one time, there seemed a serious disposition to hustle him out of the meeting; but his genius prevailed over theirs. People said, publicly as well as privately, that he was a Whig in disguise. But he was an honour to any party.

As the evening wore away, the only hope of the Coalitionists seemed to be an adjournment for a week, so that the scattered sheep might be got together again. But this being defeated by a considerable majority, it seemed as if poor Truck and Dicker was fairly knocked off its pegs. However, on the passage of the test Resolution denouncing Coalitions, the Coalitionists carried it by a majority of *five.* Great was their joy and greater the consternation of their enemies. But, forthwith, the President of the Convention, a Hunker of the Hunkers abandoned the chair, declaring that he could afford such a body the light of his countenance no longer, and left the hall followed by the minority, which forthwith declared itself the True Church, and fulminated its excommunications, at the obstinate majority and nominated a ticket of its own. These evil spirits having been thus exorcised, peace and harmony reigned in what was left of the Convention. The preliminaries of the Coalition were soon adjusted and both Conventions adjourned at an unprecedently late hour. How strong the Hunker influence may be, can be better told after the Election. But it is thought that pains enough would secure the election of the Coalitionists even in Norfolk County. The Post and Ballot interest is strong in impudence and loud in noise, but it is chiefly confined to Boston, with a few ramifications in the principal towns. These are vociferous about the Union and the Constitution and the Compromises, and are strongly in favour of the Whigs nominating Mr. Webster. The mass of the country Democracy are honest, well-intentioned persons, who have no belief in the dangers of the Union, no offices to expect from Washington, and a natural desire that the principles which they have been taught to consider vital should be applied to the State affairs. Whether Gog or Magog prevail you shall know in due time, if you possess your soul in patience.

One of the most important measures which the Coalition of last winter produced was the passage of an Act for calling a Convention of the People to revise the Constitution, provided it be ratified by the People, themselves, at the approaching election. This is another terrible thorn in the sides of our Whig Saints. They are almost frantic in view of the People coming together to see whether they can make their form of government more to their minds. And with some reason, for it is not likely that the People will be content to leave their political affairs so entirely in the hands of State Street as they have done heretofore. Our representation being based on population and not on voters, Boston and the other large towns where the Irish and other non-voting foreign population most abound, obtain a large number of Representatives who, really, represent nobody but the dominant party. A new arrangement of the Representation on the basis of the number of voters, instead of that of population, would procure a much more equal representation than now prevails. And this, you may be sure, Hunkerdom shudders at in all her gates. Another change, which will, doubtless, result from a Convention, is the Election of the Judges by the people instead of their appointment for life by the Executive. There seems to be no sufficient reason, if the people be competent to elect the *appointer*, why they should not be to select the *appointees.* It is certainly for their interest, emphatically, that the Bench should be well filled and there is quite as little danger of its being occupied by incompetent persons as there is now. And an occasional trial by the people may be no unwholesome discipline for the Judges themselves.

You will have seen the announcement of the appointment of Mr Benjamin R. Curtis to fill the vacancy on the United States Supreme Bench, occasioned by the death of Judge Woodbury. I have frequently had occasion to mention this gentleman. He is, certainly, professionally, sufficiently competent. He has earned his elevation by assiduous assistance to Mr. Webster in his new trade of saving the Union. I think you need have no fears that the Union will suffer in his hands or that the country may lose his services by the refusal of the Senate to confirm his nomination. I think, indeed, that much as he may have done to merit this promotion, that it was hardly fraternal in him to mount over the yet worthier head of his brother, the Compromiser, who sent Sims home to happiness. And both of them should blush at the neglect which has thus been shown to Mr. Seth B. Thomas, the claimant's counsel, the true Saviour of the Union, who certainly deserved this elevation more than either. But ingratitude is the vice of Republics.—D. Y

Communications.

[FOR THE STANDARD.]

Notes and Comments, Observations and Reflections, Scenes and Sketches, Gleanings by the Way-side, &c., &c.

BY AN ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURER

NO. II.

YORKSHIRE, Cattaraugus Co., N. Y.
October 10, 1851.

I proceeded, with many misgivings, to the door, and gently knocked for admittance. A moment of trembling suspense sped, and the door was opened by a good-looking lady, who invited me in. "Does Rev. Mr. —— reside here?" "He does." And I was ushered into the sitting-room, where I was brought face to face with a man of, I should think, less than thirty years of age, whose appearance would have been rather prepossessing, but for a certain air of importance there was about him, not altogether consistent with a Methodist minister's profession, but which, according to *Phrenology*, he, doubtless, could not help, and for it, therefore, was not to blame. That he was my man, however, I had not the shadow of a doubt. I cannot *always* tell a clergyman, from a layman, from the expression of his countenance, and the movements of his body, but I can *sometimes.* Whether or not, in such cases, my readiness to detect a man's profession, is derived from his peculiar clergymanic appearance, or as A. J. Davis would say, from an extraordinary 'development of my interior perceptions,' at the time, I know not; but certain it is, I *do* detect it with unerring certainty. I *know* it, at a glance, as well as if I had heard him preach a "*powerful* discourse," and better too; for all *preachers* are not *clergymen*, as the numerous "hair-brained fanatics," up and down the country, who have never been *specially* authorized by "laying on of hands," to be "ambassadors for God," and who sometimes preach powerful sermons, testify. But, as I said, I know this man for a clergyman. The moment my eye rested upon him, I read him "like a book." So taking his hand, which, on my entrance, was extended, I said:

"Mr. ——I believe." "That is my name, sir."

"My name is ——, I am making a little effort in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause, in this section, and have called upon you to ascertain whether your church can be had for the purpose of holding an Anti-Slavery meeting."

"I am not the proper person to decide that matter, though I could doubtless exert some influence, either for or against such a meeting."

"I suppose you would have an influence, sir, and hoping you would feel disposed to exert it in behalf of the slave, I called upon you first."

"I—I don't know how you conduct your meetings, that is, whether you conduct them on religious principles or not."

"That depends very much upon what you *mean* by *religious principles.* If you speak of preliminary exercises, in that respect, I allow perfect freedom to the resident clergyman, if he is present, or any other person, in his absence, that may choose to use it. Otherwise I please myself."

"I don't know whether your lectures are of a *religious character.*"

"That again will depend upon the meaning of your terms. I consider the Anti-Slavery enterprise one in which all men are morally, religiously, and every other way, bound to engage, and I treat it accordingly."

"Do you enjoy *experimental* religion?"

"I am a believer in the Christian religion, as I understand it. An honest and faithful application of just and true principles, comprehends all the experimental religion I know, or wish to know of."

Here we launched off into a long, profitless Theological discussion, in which, I think, he must have had the best of the argument, since I could understand but little of what he was at; keeping myself close to principles which I could demonstrate in the light of reason and justice. Terminating the discussion, I inquired: "Who are the Trustees of your church? I must, I suppose, consult them."

"I have not given my consent to the meeting. I am as much of an Abolitionist as any body, and should not object to allowing a meeting in the church, if I were assured it would be properly conducted."

"I intend, sir, to conduct my meetings in a proper manner, according to my ideas of propriety. But it is getting late, and I must be going. Will you give me your answer?"

"If you will promise me that you will conduct your meeting *morally* and *decently*, I will give my consent."

"I will promise you no such thing, sir. Your request is, without a parallel, extravagant and insulting. Is there that in my appearance that induces you to make it?"

"O, no sir, not at all. I wish to give no offence, but if you mean to conduct properly, you can easily promise to do so."

"I shall not stoop to make such a promise, sir.—That's got along with. I regard this as sheer equivocation. I have had some experience with men of your stamp. Now the matter stands just here: I don't ask for your church as a personal favour. Three millions of my fellow-beings are in chains to-night, in this country. The great mass of the American people have their iron heels upon their necks. Thousands of churches are scattered over this land, the majority of which are closed against them. Thousands of ministers officiate in these churches, who will not, or dare not, plead their cause. They are lifting up their manacled hands, and, in the name of God and of their own bleeding and crushed humanity, calling on us for help. I am here to plead for them. Is your church to be opened to them, or closed against them? That's the question."

"Won't you remain with us through the night? it is getting late. You shall be made quite welcome."

Being a stranger in the place, and as it was getting well towards midnight, I concluded to accept his hospitality. By way of apologizing for requiring so unheard-of a promise, he informed me that an Anti-Slavery lecturer had, not long before, in an adjoining town, made very free use of language, in describing the examination of slaves upon the auction block. The audience was very much shocked. He did not want the same thing done in his church. *The audience were shocked!* Poor, dear creatures! no wonder they were shocked at the recital of the *brutal* barbarities inflicted upon *helpless women* by their authority and consent. Do you want to shock the delicate nerves of smooth-faced, respectable supporters of seething *brothels*, *expose* their connection with them. But shocking is the only thing that will answer the purpose. Nothing short of intellectual *lightning* and moral *thunder-bolts*, can exterminate the moral and political *monstrosities* of the Church and Government of this country. Before leaving the place, I made arrangements with Deacon ——, an Abolitionist, to consult the trustees, and appoint a meeting for the next Sunday, if the church could be obtained. It so happened that our appointment came due on the day of their Quarterly Meeting—a fact of which I was ignorant at the time, so we had no meeting of course. I do not certainly know, now, but shall, before I am much older, whether or not that temple of religion will be closed against the slave.

This man was an *Abolitionist*, yet he knew nothing of GARRISON or GERRIT SMITH, of the A. A. S Society, or the Liberty Party; supposed all men, nearly, at the North were Abolitionists, especially the *Methodists*—some were fanatical. Yet he is a minister of religion, an ambassador for God, especially called of Him, and commissioned to go forth and preach the everlasting Gospel in its fullness and purity. If the blind lead the blind, what then? They will fall together, to be sure. God once winked at ignorance; but now, *now*, this moment, commands *all* men, especially Christians, to *repent*, and bring forth *fruits meet* for repentance. The mandate has gone forth, *Let there be* LIGHT. And there *is* light. Let its rays penetrate the secret recesses of the dark soul of error. *Let there be* TRUTH. And there *is* truth. Let its fires be kindled in the heart of seething corruption. Then fan and feed the flame. I shall have every meeting-house within reach closed against me, or I will plead the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, from its desk or altar.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

[FOR THE A. S. STANDARD.]

FRIEND GAY:—I wish to notice one aspect of the Slave question, which none of the friends of the slave have alluded to, that I have seen—viz. the Phrenological aspect, or what says Phrenology on this great National question? I shall assume that Phrenology is generally admitted to rank as an important science. Let us notice the characteristic phrenological developments of the Africo-Americans, the American Indian, and the Anglo-Americans. The Africo-Americans are endowed with large language, tune, hope, marvellousness, approbativeness, and the social faculties, with moderate self-esteem. These would have a tendency to make them talkative, cheerful and easy about the future, somewhat superstitious, and consequently more easily duped, love of finery and show, musical and hilarious, and very affectionate and social; the very qualities and capabilities that the oppressor desires, and, by means of which he the more easily chattelizes his victim. Yes! the very faculties which do honour to their head and heart, and which ought to give them respect and protection from their fellow-man, are made the means and instrument in the hands of their haters of their degradation.

The American Indian is endowed with large destructiveness, secretiveness, cautiousness, firmness, self-esteem, perceptives. The social faculties are moderate. This combination would make them cruel, blood-thirsty, vindictive, wary, cunning, enduring, love of independence, and not very affectionate; the qualities which they get no credit for by those calling themselves civilized and Christian; but, nevertheless, these very qualities or faculties have preserved them, as a race, from Slavery chattelization and degradation.

The Indian is unconquerable and untameable, independent and roving,—qualities which the oppressor desires not, and hence his inability to enslave the Indian with success.

The Anglo Americans, or descendants of Europeans, are endowed with larger reflectives, quickened by education, which distinguishes them from the other races; qualities that enable them successfully to oppress their brethren, but which ought to distinguish them for the benefactors of mankind; the very faculties that fit them to confer great benefits, also serve or enable them to inflict the greatest misery on their fellow-men.

When a youth, in reading history, particularly of America, and of the subjugation of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, and the attempted enslavement of the Indians with only partial success, I have often asked mentally why it was that the Indian could not be chattelized and degraded and thrive under it as well as the African, who thrives and even improves in Slavery. But the Indian pines and droops, and is worthless as a chattel, while the African is considered valuable. I think the solution is found in the application of the truths of Phrenology above stated.

"Percy's Anecdotes of Humanity and Eloquence" gives the history of the origin of the African Slave Trade, which had its inception in motives of humanity. A benevolent Catholic bishop of South America, seeing the misery to which the Indians were subjected by working in the mines, conceived the idea that by substituting the African for the Indian, a great boon would be conferred on the Indian! A humane idea truly! to consign untold millions of one race to bondage, for the uncertain amelioration of comparative thousands of another race who would inevitably fade away before the progress of modern civilization and Religion.

What are the inferences to be drawn by the philanthropist on the Slavery question from the above premises? Let us see. It is a well-known fact that the slaves at the South are at present a mixture of the races, the amalgamation, for the most part, consisting of the white with the African. By the laws of hereditary descent, the offspring must partake of, or inherit, in a greater or less degree, the qualities of the parents. The slaves, then, are no exception to this law. Facts can be adduced to prove that slaves born of mixed blood are a superior race to either white or black (the Indian being left out for brevity's sake) they are superior to the white physically, and mentally to the black, which amounts to a superior compound, mental and physical, compared with their progenitors. If these are logical conclusions, how long can such a race be held in bondage? Three millions of such a race are not to be despised. Then "when Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war" will be literally fulfilled, and blood will flow to the "horse's bridles." if timely emancipation is not peaceably granted, which would seem to be a measure of common justice and enlightened wisdom on the part of the oppressor, for terrible would be the consequences if emancipation is delayed till extorted by an appeal to the sword.

The above sketch is very imperfectly drawn, even in a phrenological light, as only a few of the faculties of each race are noticed with their corresponding functions, but is written hastily, for the sake of calling the attention of the curious in these matters, hoping that some more able pen among your readers and correspondents will take up the subject and give a more extended and scientific exposition of this interesting topic.

E RUSSELL.

Farmersville, N. Y., September 1st, 1851.

Miscellaneous Items.

——THE Union party has been successful in South Carolina. In Charleston alone they have a majority of one thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

——THE WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, MIDDLETOWN, CT.—The Board of Trustees of this flourishing Institution, have elected Rev JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D. D., to fill the Presidential chair vacated by the death of Rev. Dr. OLIN.

——MR. WINTHROP, at the close of his speech at the Northampton Cattle Show, proposed "the memory of James C. Alvord and Isaac C. Bates." Mr. Alvord was one of the strongest and ablest Anti-Slavery men in the State. If he were now living, Winthrop would be blackguarding him as a "viper," the term which he applied to Charles Sumner, C. F. Adams, S. G. Howe and other Free Soilers of Boston.—*Lowell American.*

——A PROCLAMATION—BY WASHINGTON HUNT, Governor of the State of New York

The goodness of Almighty God has been signally manifested towards the people of this State during the present year.

The blessings of liberty, national tranquility, and public health have been enjoyed without interruption. The fruits of the earth, in overflowing abundance have rewarded the labours of the husbandman. Public improvements have been advanced. The truths of knowledge and religion more widely diffused, and our republican institutions preserved and strengthened.

A just sense of these beneficent dispensations should inspire universal gratitude towards our Divine Benefactor, and call forth appropriate demonstrations of homage and adoration.

Therefore, in compliance with usage, I respectfully recommend to the people of this State the observance of THURSDAY, the 27th day of November next, as a day of Prayer, Thanksgiving and Praise.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto affixed my hand,
and the privy seal of the State, this sixteenth
[L. S.] day of October, in the year of our Lord one
thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.
WASHINGTON HUNT.

By the Governor.
JAMES F. RUGGLES, Private Secretary.

——SEALED LETTERS FOR CALIFORNIA.—Our Governmental Departments have received official information from San Francisco, that letters frequently reach there with the envelopes partly torn off and the address mutilated, in consequence of the practice of using sealing wax to secure the envelopes. In passing through the tropics the wax is invariably melted so as to destroy all semblance of a seal, and not unfrequently so as to adhere to the letter beneath it, and cause the injury or destruction of the address in separating the two. The Postmaster General, therefore, recommends to all persons having correspondence with California, and other parts of the coast of the Pacific Ocean, to discontinue the use of wax in sealing their letters or other papers.—*National Intelligencer, Oct. 15th.*

——CHARGE OF JUDGE CURTIS TO THE GRAND JURY.—*The Shadrach Rescue Case.*—In the United States Circuit Court, yesterday morning, Judge Curtis charged the Grand Jury as to their duties. The charge was over an hour in length, and was most lucid and able. He alluded to and explained the crimes of murder, arson, high treason, &c., and in regard to the latter, said that no person of influence and standing could incite others to violence against the laws of the United States, and yet be innocent of the consequences. It was not required that a blow should be struck to constitute the crime.

The rescue cases have been duly transferred from the District to the Circuit Court, and District Attorney Lunt yesterday morning gave notice to the counsel for defence that the Government would be ready to try them as soon as one or two cases now before the Grand Jury were disposed of. It is understood that the case of Robert Morris, the coloured lawyer, the trial of which was previously broken off very suddenly, will be the first taken up.—*Boston Courier, Friday.*

——THE CHRISTIANA TRAGEDY.—A correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, in West Chester, Penn., writes to that paper as follows:

"The Christiana tragedy has awakened the deepest feeling of hostility to the Fugitive law in this region. The sympathies of many are of course on the side of the slaveholder and his friends, but the majority of the people cannot help feeling that the fugitives, in resisting their pursuers, acted upon principles which the American people generally held sacred as a part of their birthright. They may regret the spilling of human blood—they may even think it not the best policy for fugitives to array themselves in violent hostility against a government which has the power to crush them—but they are slow to condemn men for fighting when the alternative is Liberty or Slavery for themselves and their posterity. There is no doubt that the efforts to enforce the law are doing more to insure its ultimate destruction than all the Abolitionists of the land can accomplish. The arrest and imprisonment upon the charge of treason of peaceable and unoffending citizens, whose only offence is their avowed hostility to, and their refusal to obey, a law which requires them to trample upon every dictate of humanity and justice, has aroused the indignation of multitudes who have taken no part in the Anti-Slavery agitation, and the tide of that indignation is growing stronger day by day.

——THE GREAT EXHIBITION.—The Editor of *The Tribune*, who served on one of the Juries of the Great Industrial Exhibition in London, has published a notice of the Prizes awarded, so far as they came within his knowledge. These prizes were of two kinds, the Jury Medals, awarded by the juries to the several articles of merit exhibited in their several classes, and the Council Medals, given by the Council of Presidents of the juries. Of the latter there were to be in all but 169, which were to be distributed among the several nations, thus:

To Great Britain	79	To France	56
To Germany	12	To United States	5
To Austria	4	To Russia	3
To Belgium	2	To Switzerland	2
To Tuscany	2	To Holland	1
To Spain	1	To Rome	1

To Turkey 1

The following are the awards of the five which were to be given to the United States:

To C. H. McCormick, Chicago, Illinois, for his Virginia Reaper.

To David Dick, Meadville, Western Penn., for his Anti Friction Press

To Charles Goodyear, New Haven, Conn., for his India Rubber Fabrics.

To W. Bond & Son, Boston, Mass., for an Electric Clock.

To Gael Borden, Texas, for his Meat-Biscuit.

Of the Jury Medals it is stated that about 2,000 were to be awarded, of which 100 probably would come to the United States.

——THE REIGN OF TERROR.—A mob at Grayson, Va., recently took a man named Cornutt, tied him to a tree, and lashed him, until, to free himself from torture, he consented to renounce his emancipation views, sell his lands and leave the State. The Albany *Register*, speaking of the act, says:

"A more high-handed and unwarrantable outrage than this is rarely perpetrated. The suppression of the freedom of opinion by acts like this is little if any better than the cruel oppression of Austria and Naples, in Italy. It is a disgrace to republicanism, and has no affinity to civilization. It is a reign of terror which converts its victims into martyrs. If persisted in, it will raise a storm of indignation before which the institution of Slavery will totter to its foundations. If Cornutt was active in spreading discontent and sowing sedition among the negroes, it may palliate, but cannot excuse, much less justify, the course that was taken with him. For such offences, the laws of Virginia provide sufficient remedies."

The *Register* is a Fillmore paper, and insists that *agitation* against the compromise measures must be "put down." The act to which it refers is the legitimate fruit of its teachings. Like this Virginia Safety Committee, the administration have attempted to establish the "reign of terror," and perhaps with the same results depicted in the above paragraph.—*Ohio Star.*

——SYMMS' HOLE.—The old joke about Symms' Hole, is now regarded by some folks as entitled to a little sober consideration. Symms believed that the earth was hollow at the poles, while astronomers have told us it was only flattened. A writer in the *Montreal Herald* maintains that the discoveries of the late exploring expeditions have substantially proved the theory of Symms, and says that Sir John Franklin has probably "got into the hole and can't get out!" Several navigators who have reached a very high latitude within a few years, have maintained that beyond the immense fields of ice in the vicinity of Wellington Channel, there was an open sea and a milder climate. A writer in the *Providence Journal* maintained, before the sailing of Grinnell's vessels, that such was the fact, and Capt. Penny, of the English expedition, confirms the doctrine. The Montreal editor quotes him as follows:

"Capt. Penny found a heavy barrier of ice in Wellington Channel, not very far from its opening from Barrow's Straits, but a most remarkable change was observed as he passed to a more Northern latitude: the ice which he had left (as is usual at this early season, April and May,) firm and solid, was here decayed and unsafe, and at last travellers came upon open water, drift wood, Arctic animals and birds—the latter in enormous numbers. Here were all the signs of an improved climate."

Upon this the Montreal writer comments as follows:

"I do not know how it will strike you, sir, but to me, with whom the idea of openings at the poles has been familiar for some 30 years, the information by Captain Penny is excitingly curious. Perhaps, after all, Sir John Franklin has found this opening! If there be such an opening, it is quite probable that the strength of the current *into the opening* may prevent return to *sailing* vessels; it would not, however, be an obstacle to the return of steamers. How important then it becomes that Capt. Penny's present efforts to obtain a steamer and return to the 'open water' and the 'improved climate,' may be successful."

In addition to the above the officers of the expedition just returned, concur in stating that with a North wind the thermometer always rises, and falls when it is from the Southward.—*New Haven Palladium.*

——AN ABOLITIONIST SEEN AIDING FUGITIVE SLAVES TO ESCAPE.—On Friday, the 19th of September, a gentleman of this county was at a certain point in Ohio, upon the Cincinnati and Sandusky Rail-road, and while there saw a white man, (whose name and residence he knows,) assist four negroes in getting into the cars for Sandusky. The negroes consisted of one woman, apparently about forty-five years of age, and three boys, who seemed to range from eight to fourteen years—None of them were absolutely black, but the boys were quite dark and the woman a shade lighter. From all the circumstances of the case, and the conduct of all the parties, our informant had not the least doubt that they were runaway slaves from Kentucky, and that the white man was helping them to escape. He first observed the white man directing and assisting the negroes into the cars. Then he saw him turn round and whisper a few words to an old negro man who seemed to have brought them there. The white man then got into the cars with the negroes, and the train started towards the lake. Our informant then watched the old negro, and saw him get into a two horse covered wagon, which seemed to be empty, and start towards the Ohio river. He remained at the place until evening, and saw the white man return in the cars from the north, but the negroes were not with him. The facts which he saw, left no doubt upon the mind of our informant that the negroes were runaways who had been brought to that point by the old negro in his wagon.

We publish this in the hope that it may meet the eye of the owner of the negroes, and that information which he may obtain from our informant, (by writing to us,) and from other sources which that information may suggest, will enable him, if not to recover his negroes, to fix the fact of aiding their escape upon a responsible white man, and make him pay, not only according to the provisions of the law, the value of the fugitives, but suffer the other heavy penalties affixed to such violations of his neighbour's rights.

We shall cheerfully answer any letter addressed to us upon the subject.—*Frank. Commonwealth*

DEATHS.

ELLIS.—In this city, on the 18th inst., Christina Ellis, Daughter of David and Eliza Ellis, aged 20 years 2 months and 14 days.

TILDEN.—In Brattleboro,' Vt., October 9, Bryant P. Tilden, Esq., aged 70 yrs.

BUCHANAN.—On the 10th inst., at Elm Wood, near Montreal, at the residence of his son-in-law, Hugh Taylor, in the 80th year of his age, James Buchanan, Esq., late her Britannic Majesty's Consul in this city.

THOMPSON.—In London, recently, Wm. L. G. Thompson, second son of Hon. Geo. Thompson, M. P.

Notices.

Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society.

THE Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in Mechanics' Hall, Providence, on Wednesday and Thursday, November 5th and 6th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., on the first day named.

Friends of the slave, in the State where the freedom of conscience, in its broad import, was first proclaimed! need we urge *you*, upon an occasion like this, to respond to this call? Need we say to you that the enemy you oppose is not only the friend of Slavery, at the South, but of a tyranny at the North far more degrading than any which has ever found the sanction of law on our continent? Need we tell you that your rights have been invaded and trampled upon in the efforts of the oppressor to strengthen the African's chains?—that your homes are made prison houses—that your hands are commanded to perform the work of the despot's blood-hound—that the liberty of conscience, which you have boasted for two centuries, is erased from the record of your rights—that the patriotism of seventy-six has become the treason of fifty one—and that the war, thus ruthlessly commenced, and wantonly urged, is proclaimed already to be one of extermination against what you, as republicans, hold most dear? At such a time, need we make our plea in tears, or urge the claims of Freedom in lengthened words? May we not *know*, that what you have been, you will continue to be,—that what you have failed to do, through lack of belief in the recklessness of your enemies, you will determine to perform, at whatever sacrifice?

Come to our meeting—sit with us, counsel us, encourage us, help us! Eloquent defenders of our cause will be here, to warm your hearts with living thoughts; and every effort will be made to render your stay agreeable to you and profitable to your cause.

In behalf of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society,
GEO L. CLARKE, *President.*
AMARANCY PAINE, *Secretary.*

THE EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL
ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

TO BE HELD IN BOSTON, MASS., DURING THE CHRISTMAS WEEK OF 1851.

IN ADDRESSING the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause at the present time, and in once more seeking their aid and co-operation, the Bazaar Committee feel more deeply than ever before not only the necessity for such aid and co-operation, but an entire assurance that no representations nor arguments are needed on their part to secure both in a fuller measure than on any previous occasion.

The crime that has recently been perpetrated in our midst in the re-enslavement of an innocent man, effected as it has been by the help, connivance and sympathy of the magistrates, merchants and churches of Boston, exhibits a state of things which must supply to every heroic and conscientious person such motive for exertion as no word, however eloquent, could furnish. Indeed, all human language seems inadequate to depict the condition of a nation such as ours. Only in the language of prophets and apostles can its guilt be made truly to appear. The fearful descriptions of apostate Israel, making 'many prayers' with hands 'full of blood,' seeking how best to unite robbery and burnt offering, may be, without fanaticism or exaggeration strictly applied to this community and the nation of which it makes a part. Can we arrive at a more charitable judgment, when remembering that three millions of men and women, as good in the sight of God as their enslavers, their improvement, happiness and salvation as dear in His sight, are held as goods and chattels by a people professing not a mere nominal and historical Christianity, but holding, by an immense majority, to those tenets which claim and maintain the title of evangelical? It is the guilt and shame of this nation not only that it is a slaveholding one, but that at the same time it claims as its own the names Republican and Christian. The life-long misery of millions of slaves is not her chief condemnation. It is, that the light within her having become darkness, she is in reality the ally and supporter of every form of oppression, despotism and heathenism the world over. The fact that great material prosperity exists through our whole country, and that amid a large minority the fruits of virtue and morality abound, does not invalidate this statement. We may better learn from the teachings of past History how a people corrupt as powerful affects the world's destinies than from the narrow field of mere personal experience.

In view of truths like these, we would trust that with ourselves and all co-operating with us, the spirit of labor and self-sacrifice may be increased ten-fold, so that the success of this special effort may prove in some degree commensurate with the increased perils and responsibilities of our position.

Should this appeal meet the eyes of any hitherto indifferent or opposed to Anti-Slavery principles, to such we would say, 'The Abolition of Slavery is as truly your duty as ours. If you have never felt the claims of humanity before, respond to them now. In the belief which we entertain and the action flowing therefrom, we appeal for our justification to the teachings of the New Testament, to the recorded testimony of all by-gone ages as to the value of freedom and the villany of Slavery, and finally to the secret consciousness of every human heart. You *know* that you would spurn and reject slavery for yourself or those dear to you.—Do you not blush, then, if money or ambition, or high standing in a pro-slavery and by consequence an apostate church, shall have hitherto led you to actively aid or ignore the enslavement of others?

We turn with undoubting confidence to those friends in Europe, who have sympathized so truly with us, and have in so unwearied a manner shown their faith by their works. We are laboring for the destruction of a system which is the enemy of human nature every where, the opponent of civilization, the foe of all just government, the corrupter and uprooter of Christianity in every nation where it exists. Under these circumstances, we feel at liberty to ask the aid of all of every clime, race or creed, to whom justice, humanity and freedom are words dear and sacred. We rejoice to recognize a spirit higher and holier than any feeling of nationality, uniting all who labor together from unselfish motives for the promotion of an object noble and heroic as ours—the abolition of the vilest system of Slavery the sun ever saw, by the entire and uncompromising utterance of *the truth* alone.

ANNE WARREN WESTON,
ANN GREENE PHILLIPS,
HELEN E. GARRISON,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,
MARY MAY,
SARAH R. MAY,
CATHARINE SARGENT,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
HANNAH TUFTS,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
THANKFUL SOUTHWICK,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
CAROLINE F. WILLIAMS,
MARY H. JACKSON,
ELIZABETH GAY,
CHARLOTTE S. SARGENT,
LOUISA LORING,
SARAH S. RUSSELL,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
SUSAN C. CABOT,
CAROLINE WESTON,
SARAH B. SHAW,
ELIZA F. EDDY,
MARY WILLEY,
EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
ANN R. BRAMHALL,
LYDIA PARKER,
MARIA LOWELL,
ABBY FRANCIS,
ELIZABETH A. COTTON.

Boston, May 21, 1851.

Miscellany.

MARGARET M'LAUCHLAN AND MARGARET WILSON.

THE years 1684 and 1685 were years of terrible suffering to the Covenanters. The history of these years is written in letters of blood, and they were emphatically called, by the sufferers, *The killing time.* The savage ruffians, who were scouring the country like incarnate demons, hunted the poor helpless victims of their cruelty like wild beasts, over moors and mountains. If they met with a person who refused to answer their questions, or who did not satisfy them in their answers; or if they found another reading the Bible; or observed a third apparently alarmed or attempting to escape, they reckoned all such persons fanatics, and in many instances shot them dead on the spot. The devil had gone forth, having great wrath, as if knowing that his time was short. Patrick Walker remarks, that during these two years, eighty persons were shot in the fields, in cold blood; and he further says, "Since that time, some that write of court affairs of Britain for twenty of these years, assert that the very design of that killing time was to provoke the Lord's people in the west of Scotland to rise in arms in their own defence, as at Pentland, Bothwell, and Ayr's Moss, that they might get the sham occasion to raise fire and sword in the west, to make it a hunting-field, as the Duke of York had openly threatened, saying 'There is no other way of rooting fanaticism out of it.'" But whatever may be as to this, the ferocity of the persecutors had risen to an unprecedented height, creating general alarm, and threatening to wear out the saints of the Most High.

MARGARET WILSON, the younger of the two martyrs, who was only about eighteen years of age at the time of her death, was daughter of Gilbert Wilson, farmer, of Glenvernock, the property of the Laird of Castle Stewart, in the parish of Penningham, in Wigtonshire. He was in good outward circumstances; and his farm, which was excellent soil, and in the best condition, was well stocked with sheep and cattle. Both he and his wife were conformists to Prelacy, and regularly attended the ministry of the curate of Penningham; nor could the government lay anything to their charge. Their children, however, which is rather remarkable, were, at an early age, not only well acquainted with the principles of religion, but, contrary to the example of their parents, ardently attached to the persecuted faith and would on no consideration attend the ministry of the prelatic incumbent of that parish. On this account, though scarcely of such an age as rendered them obnoxious to the law, they were searched for; and, to secure their safety, were compelled to betake themselves, like many others, to the desert solitudes of the upper part of Galloway. They were, in fact, treated in every respect as outlaws. Their parents were forbidden, at their highest peril, to harbour them, to supply their wants, or to have any intercourse with them; and were even commanded so far to disregard natural affection, as to lodge information against them, that they might be apprehended. But the barbarous and unprincipled men who were ravaging Wigtonshire did not stop at this. Mr. Wilson being a man of substance, they looked with a greedy eye upon his wealth; and, notwithstanding his own compliance with Prelacy, fined him for the nonconformity of his children. In addition to this he was grievously harassed by parties of soldiers, who, sometimes to the number of a hundred, would come to his house, and not only live at free quarters, but commit that wanton destruction upon his property to which, by the fierceness of their dispositions, they were prompted. To hardships of this nature he was subjected for several years; and these hardships, together with his frequent attendance upon courts at Wigton, which was thirteen miles distant from his own house, and at Edinburgh, reduced him from comparative affluence to poverty. So heavy, indeed, were his pecuniary losses—amounting, at a moderate calculation, to upwards of 5000 marks—that though, before being thus pillaged, he was one of the most substantial men in that part of the country, he died about the year 1704 or 1705, in destitution, and his widow, who was alive in 1711, then very aged, subsisted upon the charity of her friends. This is one instance, among many others which might be adduced, in which persons of property, against whose loyalty and religion the Government had nothing to object, were exposed to the spoliation of their goods, and were even sometimes reduced to absolute penury, for the recusance of those connected with them, and over whom they had often no control. Loyal and conforming parents were fined, and otherwise punished, for the nonconformity of their children; loyal and conforming husbands for the nonconformity of their wives; loyal and conforming masters for the nonconformity of their servants; loyal and conforming proprietors for the nonconformity of their tenants. The troopers, too, who like licensed robbers, traversed the country, in many cases pillaged, with indiscriminate wantonness, such as were friendly to the Government and conformists to Prelacy, and such as were not.

Margaret Wilson, and her sister, Agnes, who was then only about thirteen years of age, at length fell into the hands of the persecutors. In the beginning of the year 1685, these two girls, to secure their safety, were obliged to leave for some time their father's house, and, in company with their brother, a youth of not more than sixteen years of age, and other persecuted wanderers, to seek shelter in the mosses, mountains, and caves of Carrick, Nithsdale, and Galloway. On the death of Charles II., when the persecution was for a brief period relaxed, the two sisters, leaving their hiding-places, ventured to come secretly to Wigton, to visit some of their fellow-sufferers in the same cause, and particularly the aged Margaret M'Lauchlan, whom they greatly loved, and who was well qualified to minister comfort and counsel to them under their troubles. Here both of them were discovered and made prisoners through the treachery of a man named Patrick Stuart, with whom they were personally acquainted, and who professed to take a deep and friendly interest in their welfare. This base fellow, from what motive it is not said, but doubtless either from pure malignity of disposition, or from the love of the paltry wages given to informers, purposed to betray these friendless and unsuspecting girls. To find some plausible ground of complaint against them, he, with much apparent kindness, invited them to go with him and partake of some refreshment, which being brought, he proposed that they should drink the King's health. This, as he probably anticipated, from what he knew of their character, they modestly declined to do; upon which he left them, and immediately proceeded to the authorities of Wigton, to lodge information against them. A party of soldiers was forthwith despatched to apprehend them. The two girls were cast into that abominable place called "the thieves' hole," and after lying there for some time, were removed to the prison in which their beloved friend, Margaret M'Lauchlan, who had been apprehended about the same time, or very shortly after, was confined, and of whom we now proceed to give some account.

MARGARET M'LAUGHLAN was the widow of John Mulligan, or Millikin, carpenter, a tenant in the parish of Kirkinner, in the shire of Galloway, in the farm of Drumjargan, belonging to Colonel Vans, of Barnbarroch; and she had now nearly reached the venerable age of seventy. She was a plain countrywoman, but superior to most women of her station in religious knowledge; blameless in her deportment, and a pattern of virtue and piety. Being strictly Presbyterian in her principles, she had regularly absented herself from hearing the curate of the parish of Kirkinner; she had also attended the sermons of the proscribed ministers, and had afforded shelter and relief to her persecuted nonconforming relations and acquaintances in their wanderings and distresses. Honourable as was all this to her character, it was, in those days of oppression, regarded as highly criminal; and, on this account, she suffered much in her property, and at last was apprehended on the Sabbath-day, when engaged in the exercise of family worship in her own dwelling, the day of rest being now the season when the persecutors were most active in searching for "the fanatics," and often most successful in discovering them. She was immediately carried to prison, in which she lay for a long time, and was treated with great harshness, not being allowed a fire to warm her, nor a bed upon which to lie, nor even an adequate supply of food to satisfy the cravings of nature.

When Margaret M'Lauchlan, Margaret Wilson, and her sister, were apprehended, it was demanded of them, as a test of their loyalty, that they should swear the abjuration oath. This was an oath abjuring a manifesto published by the "Society People," or the Cameronians, on the 8th of November, 1684, entitled "The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent Intelligencers and Informers." In this manifesto, after expressing their adherence to their former declarations, in which they disowned the authority of Charles Stuart, and declared war against him and his accomplices; and after testifying that they "utterly detest and abhor that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment or persuasion from them;" they declare it to be their purpose to punish, according to their power, and according to the degree of the offence, such as should stretch forth their hands against them by shedding their blood on account of their principles, or willingly give such information as should lead thereto. This step we do not undertake to vindicate, it being "calculated, notwithstanding all their qualifications, and in spite of all the precautions they might use, to open a door to lawless bloodshed, and to give encouragement to assassination. At the same time, it is impossible to condemn them with great severity, when we reflect that they were cast out of the protection of law, driven out of the pale of society, and hunted like wild beasts in the woods and on the mountains, to which they had fled for shelter." It is also to be noticed that what they chiefly aimed at was to inspire their persecutors with a wholesome terror; and this object was to a considerable degree gained in regard to the more active and malignant informers, who dared not now, as they had done before, to dog the footsteps and discover to the soldiers the hiding places of men whom intolerable oppression had driven to desperation. The more virulent and persecuting of the curates in Nithsdale and Galloway were also so panic-struck on the publication of the paper, as to leave their parishes and seek safety elsewhere for a time.

On the government the effect was different. It roused their fury to the utmost height. On the 22d of November, they passed an act, which Wodrow justly calls a "bloody act," ordaining "every person, who own or will not disown the late treasonable declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to be immediately put to death; there being present two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission for that effect"—an act on which is to be charged the blood of not a few who were shot in the fields by officers, and even by private sentinels, who pretended to be invested with such powers. On the following day, they gave commission, with a justiciary power, to certain noblemen, gentlemen, and military officers, to convocate all the inhabitants, men and women above fourteen years of age, in certain parishes named, to execute, by military commission upon the place, such of them as owned the "late traitorous declaration;" and also to execute the sentence of death on such as refused to disown it, after trying them by a jury. An oath was also framed abjuring the "Apologetic Declaration," and hence called "the abjuration oath," which all, both men and women, above the age of sixteen years, were required to swear, under the pains of high-treason.

Margaret M'Lauchlan, and the two youthful sisters, Margaret and Agnes Wilson, refused to swear the abjuration oath. They were accordingly brought to a formal trial before Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Colonel David Graham (brother to the bloody Claverhouse), Major Windram, Captain Strachan, and Provost Cultrain, at Wigton, on the 13th of April, 1685. In their indictment, they were charged with being at the battle of Bothwell-bridge, at the skirmish of Ayr's Moss, at twenty field conventicles, and at an equal number of house conventicles. The first two charges were notoriously false. None of the panels had ever been within many miles of either of these places. It is, besides, to be noticed that at the time of the battle of Bothwell-bridge, the two girls were mere children (the one only about seven years of age, and the other only about eleven or twelve), while sixty-five years had passed over the head of the aged widow; and it cannot for a moment be supposed that two girls of so tender an age, or that an humble, inoffensive female, who had nearly reached the utmost limits of human earthly existence, could be concerned in that insurrection. The same remark applies to the skirmish at Ayr's Moss, which took place only a little more than a year after the rising at Bothwell-bridge. The other charges brought against these sufferers may have been true in part or in whole; but nothing was proved against them. Being again required to swear the abjuration oath, all of them refused to swear it; and this refusal seems to have been the main ground upon which they were condemned. After the mockery of a trial, a jury was found so unprincipled as to bring in a verdict of guilty against the whole three; and the sentence pronounced upon them was, that, upon the 11th of May, they should be tied to stakes fixed within the flood-mark in the water of Blednoch, near Wigton, where the sea flows at high water, there to be drowned! They were commanded to receive their sentence on their bended knees; and refusing to kneel, they were pressed down by force till it was pronounced. But they were by no means daunted; they heard the cruel sentence with much composure, and even with cheerful countenances, accounting it their honour that they were called to suffer in the cause of Christ.

This extraordinary sentence could not but produce great excitement in Wigton, and the friends of the three females were plunged into the deepest distress. The afflicted father of the two girls, on going to Edinburgh, was allowed to purchase, at the price of one hundred pounds sterling, the life of his younger daughter, in consequence of her tender age. When in Edinburgh, he would also, no doubt, use every means in his power to save the life of his other daughter; and his intercessions, as we shall afterwards see, had a mollifying effect upon the members of the Privy Council. At the same time, Margaret Wilson's friends did all they could to prevail with her to swear the abjuration oath, and to promise to attend the ministry of the curate of the parish in which she lived, but without effect; for by no solicitations would she surrender her convictions of truth and duty, whatever it might cost her. During her imprisonment, she wrote a long letter to her relations, highly honourable to her character. It was full of the deep and affecting sense which she had of God's love to her soul, and expressed an entire resignation to his sovereign disposal. It also contained a vindication of her refusal to save her life by swearing the abjuration oath, and by engaging to conform to Prelacy—written with a cogency of argument and a solidity of judgment far above her years and education. The aged Margaret M'Lauchlan, it would appear, exhibited in prison less heroic resolution than her youthful companion. She was induced to send a petition to the Privy Council, praying them to recall the sentence of death pronounced upon her, acknowledging the justice of the sentence, and expressing her willingness to take the abjuration oath, and regularly to attend her parish church.

But, notwithstanding a reprieve, these two women were, on the day appointed (the 11th of May), conducted from the tolbooth of Wigton to the place of execution, amid a numerous crowd of spectators, who had assembled to witness so unusual a sight. They were guarded by Major Windram with a company of soldiers, and, on arriving at the place, were fastened to stakes fixed in the sand, between high and low water mark. Margaret M'Lauchlan, who is said to have now manifested great fortitude, though, when in prison, she had offered to make concessions, was tied to the stake placed nearest the advancing tide, that she might perish first, for the obvious purpose of terrifying into submission the younger sufferer, who was bound to a stake nearer the shore. The multitude looked on, thrilled with horror. The flood gradually made its way to the aged matron, rising higher and higher at each successive wave, "mounting up from knee, waist, breast, neck, chin, lip," until it choked and overwhelmed her. Margaret Wilson witnessed the whole scene, and knew that she would soon share the same fate; but her steadfastness remained unshaken; and so far from exhibiting any symptoms of terror, she displayed a calm courage, rivalling that of the most intrepid martyrs. When her fellow-sufferer was struggling in the waters with the agonies of death, a heartless bystander, perhaps one of the soldiers, asked the youthful Margaret, to whom the tide had not yet advanced so far, what she thought of the spectacle before her. "What do I see," she answered, "but Christ, in one of his members, wrestling there? Think you that *we* are the sufferers? No, it is Christ in us; for he sends none a warfare upon their own charges."

When bound to the stake, Margaret Wilson sang several verses of the twenty-fifth psalm, beginning at the seventh verse:

"Let not the errors of my youth,
Nor sins, remembered be:
In mercy for thy goodness' sake,
O Lord, remember me.
The Lord is good and gracious,
He upright is also:
He therefore sinners will instruct
In ways that they should go," &c

She then repeated, with a calm and even cheerful voice, a portion of the eighth chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and, through a steadfast faith in the great and consoling truths exhibited in that sublime chapter, and in the interesting verses of the psalm she had sung, she was enabled to meet death with unshrinking courage, looking forward with humble hope to that exceeding great and eternal weight of glory, which would do more than counterbalance all her sufferings in the cause of Christ. She next engaged in prayer; and, while so employed, the waters had risen upon her so high as to reach her lips, and she began to struggle with the agonies of death. At this moment, by the command of her murderers, who *pretended* to be willing to preserve her life, provided she should swear the abjuration oath, the cords which bound her to the stake were unloosened, and she was pulled out of the waters. As soon as she recovered and was able to speak, it was asked her, by Major Windram's orders, if she would pray for the King. With the Christian meekness which formed so engaging a feature in her character, she answed, "I wish the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." "Dear Margaret," exclaimed a friend, deeply moved with pity, and anxious to save her life, "say, God save the King! say, God save the King!" With the greatest composure she replied, "God, save him, if he will; for it is his salvation I desire." Immediately her friends called out to Windram, "Sir, she hath said it! she hath said it!" But with this her murderers were not satisfied. Lagg, we are told, bellowed out, "Damned bitch! we do not want such prayers; tender the oath to her;" and Windram, coming near her, demanded that she should swear the abjuration oath, else she should be again instantly cast into the sea. She needed not long to deliberate; in an instant her resolve was taken; preferring to die rather than to do what she believed would be a denial of Christ and his truth, she firmly replied, "I will not; I am one of Christ's children; let me go." And so, after her sufferings were thus inhumanly protracted, and after being thus cruelly tantalized with the hope of life, she was, by Windram's orders, thrust into the waters, which speedily closed over her for the last time.—*From "The Ladies of the Covenant."*

THE EXPLORING EXPEDITION IN THE NORTH SEAS.

WE may fairly conclude that most of our readers have by this time become acquainted with the details of the accounts brought from the Arctic seas by Captain PENNY, of the proceedings of the exploring expedition in 1850-51.

There are two points which must have struck all readers of these despatches alike. The first is, the all-important evidence they supply that SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S expedition passed the winter of 1845-46 in a cove between Cape Riley and Beechy Island, facing Lancaster Sound, i.e., *at the eastern entrance of Wellington Strait.* Secondly, that this discovery having been made by Captain PENNY'S officers on the 27th of August 1850, no further progress whatever in discovering any traces of the expedition has been made in 1851.

But although, as far as concerns direct discovery of traces of the missing voyagers, the season of 1851—from the 17th of April, when the searching parties set out, down to the 12th of last August, when Captain PENNY sailed homeward, with his despatches—has proved a blank, yet in other respects it has led to results which may prove of considerable importance with a view to future operations.

The exploration of Wellington Strait—that great channel leading direct into the fastness of the Northern seas—was entrusted to Captain PENNY. The discovery in August 1850, of the winter quarters of SIR JOHN FRANKLIN at the entrance of this channel, added so much strength to the strong, *a priori* probability in favour of SIR JOHN'S having taken this daring, adventurous, and hitherto untried route, as naturally to make it the duty of the searching expeditions to investigate, with the utmost care, every nook and inlet of this unknown channel, and, as far as possible, of the Polar Ocean into which it leads.—We are bound to say that this duty appears, on the whole, to have been manfully and skillfully attempted, though, from circumstances doubtless insurmountable, but undoubtedly very unfortunate, it does appear to us not to have been so completely performed as, with the resources at the command of the expedition, the more sanguine might have been led to hope.

The first start was on the 17th of April. The general programme of the exploration appears to have been, that four sledging parties should proceed, two along the westward boundary of Wellington Channel, and two along its eastern shores; the former two parties to divide into separate detachments, should the nature of the land at the head of the channel render it advisable to do so.

Severe weather and failure of fuel drove this expedition back; and it did not finally start till the 5th of May. The parties then separated according to the plan indicated, Captain PENNY taking a middle course to the N.N.E., or, in other words, to the north-eastern extremity of Cornwallis Land—the western shore of Wellington Strait. The western exploring party, under Mr. GOODSIR, extended their researches along the north-western shores of Cornwallis and Bathurst Land as far as the 99th deg. of west long. (This was the extreme westing reached by the Expedition in 1851). The eastern party, after exploring along the shores of Barrow Strait in the direction of Cape Hurd, turned northward, and ultimately attained as high a latitude as 76 deg. 29 min. north, and 97 deg. west long. Neither party found any trace of the FRANKLIN navigators.

Captain PENNY was equally unsuccessful in the main object of search; but his route was marked by circumstances of peculiar interest.

On the 17th of May, from a headland which appears to form the north-eastern extremity of Wellington Channel, situated in 76 deg. 2 min. north latitude, and 95 deg. 55 min. west longitude, the captain saw another strait opening, in which was twenty-five miles of clear water, with a point of land in sight to the west, the dark sky over which indicated the presence of clear water to the extent of perhaps, twenty miles on the other side.

Captain PENNY appears to have lost no time in hastening back to the ships for procuring the means of launching on this unknown deep. Owing to the absence of hands from the vessels, in consequence of the numbers employed in the sledging expeditions, it was some time before this could be accomplished; but at length, on the 17th of June, the boat was launched 105 miles to the north-west of Cape Hotham; from this date to the 20th of July, Captain PENNY states that 310 miles of coast were examined by the boat under most disadvantageous circumstances; that provisions then fell short, and the party were compelled to return, abandoning their boat, and without having fallen on any vestige of the missing expedition.

On their return on the 27th of July, they had the mortification to find that, owing to the then open condition of Barrow's Strait, the ship, with a sufficiency of hands, might have been released from the ice by the 15th of July. As it turned out, she continued ice-bound till the 10th of August, and two days afterwards Captain PENNY sailed home with the despatches.

Captain AUSTIN remains behind. Considering from the result of the search of Wellington Strait by Captain PENNY, and from the reports of the different exploring parties, that SIR JOHN FRANKLIN did *not* prosecute his expedition to the *southward and westward* of Wellington Strait, he does not, he says, "feel authorized to prosecute a further search in "those directions," and intends "to proceed with all "dispatch to attempt the search of Jones's Sound," a channel leading from the north-west of Baffin's Bay into the same Polar Ocean as that to which Wellington Channel forms apparently the main avenue. With all submission, we cannot quite agree in this judgment. What is there to show that SIR JOHN FRANKLIN, who is now proved incontestibly to have wintered at the South-eastern entrance of Wellington Strait, might not have passed through it in a favourable season into those tracts of clear water which, to Captain PENNY'S surprise, opened upon him beyond the 76 deg. of north latitude, and in long. 95 deg. west, and which, it is observable, had equally checked the advance of the sledging parties under Mr. GOODSIR, in apparently about the same latitude, and in 99 deg. of west longitude? Into this ocean of blue water, extending thus free from ice as early *as the latter part of May*, why may not SIR JOHN FRANKLIN have effected a passage? If there be a remote probability even that he may have done so, ought we to rest satisfied till every endeavour has been made to launch into these unknown waters with a well-found and well-provisioned ship? Had a steamer, for instance, been available for the purposes of the exploring party last summer, who can doubt that we might have got behind this great ice-belt of the Polar Archipelago, into the freer waters that extend, for aught that is known to the contrary, to the Pole itself? Conjecture cannot be satisfied, nor search exhausted, till a well-found and thoroughly equipped vessel—a steamer, we believe, will be alone adequate to the requirements of the case—has been fairly afloat on that clear water which Captain PENNY saw stretching out to an indefinite extent from Point Surprise. To go back to Jones's Sound, in order to enter afresh upon the field of investigation, seems to our minds a sacrifice of all the experience already gained in the exploration of Wellington Channel. One thing is quite clear, it is impossible *now* to abandon the search.—*London Weekly News.*

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.—HIS PROBABLE COURSE.

RENSSELAER, NEAR PHILADELPHIA,
Tuesday, Oct. 6, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—You ask me whether I have changed the views I expressed to you when we parted in May of last year, as to the fate and actual position of Sir John Franklin's party, and you remind me that I then thought the northwest passage, by Wellington Channel, as the one which they had most probably taken.

I have seen nothing since to change this opinion, but many things to confirm it. You know that Sir John's instructions gave him the alternative of this course, after making a decided effort to proceed to the southward and westward from the neighbourhood of Cape Walker, and I need not renew to you the arguments that have demonstrated his purpose to avail himself of this discretion.

Now our own observation as well as all the information which we have derived from other sources, makes it seem an almost unvarying fact that the ice holds much longer in those parts of the Sound which are to the west and south of Wellington Channel than in the Channel itself. I should think it quite safe to say that under ordinary circumstances the navigation, though obstructed and difficult, would be practicable some weeks earlier by the northern than the western route. It seemed to me, too, very nearly demonstrable from ascertained facts that the earlier *leads* occur on the eastern side of Wellington Channel. The currents from the Pole towards the Equator are modified, of course, by the rotary movement of the earth, and our own experience during our long drift down the western shore of Baffin's Bay, confirmed the representations of all the whalers we met, that in the first months of the season the greater masses of polar ice track their way along the western coasts, leaving the eastern comparatively free.

The position of Franklin's party in the winter of 1845-6, has now been definitely ascertained. It was in the *Cove* between Cape Riley and the so-called Beechy Island, which is, in fact, a peninsula forming the south-eastern Cape of Wellington Channel. His encampment occupied the narrow strip of low land between Lancaster Sound and this Channel, and commanded a full view of the ice-clad waters of both. The traces of his parties continued *northwardly.* We even discovered the unmistakeable marks of sledges extending toward the north. These were, in one place, well defined on the shingle limestone, and farther on, in the hardened snow of former years. There can be no doubt, then, either that Sir John did in fact proceed north from his first wintering ground, or that, at least, he made observations in that direction to a considerable, and we do not know how great a distance.

So much for deduction from the immediate results of your expedition, jointly with the British exploring parties:—I say *jointly*, for you are aware that all moved together, and that the discoveries at and near Cape Riley were made at the same time by gentlemen of both nations.

Whether Sir John Franklin had penetrated to the southward and westward *before* making harbour at this point is a question of minor importance. We know that he wintered near the Great Channel, and from what all the world knows of the character of Sir John it is not in the slightest degree probable that he would rest at *Beechy* after the ice had opened along the eastern shores of Wellington Inlet, in the mere hope of being able to penetrate to the south and west at some later period. If the ice did become detached he would avail himself of the *earliest leads*, even if he was resolved to return on his track when the season should be more advanced, in order then to push his way toward Cape Walker. He certainly did leave his quarters early in 1846, and there are some marks which might support the idea that he did so *somewhat hastily*, as if availing himself of an unexpected pathway. If there are no traces of him in the direction of Cape Walker, as there are none of later date than 1845-6 in the neighbourhood of Beechy, the inference seems to me irresistible *that he passed northward by Wellington Channel, and that he did not return.*

He might be able to do so without having encountered any fatal accident. We were ourselves, as you know, caught nearly opposite poor Franklin's first sojourn, and borne *northward* in the ice for fifteen days, directly against the theoretical currents, and with great rapidity. We saw, at this time, high and dome-like ranges of land tending north-westwardly ahead of us, in the latitude of 76 deg., at least, and probably much farther. The axis of polar drift must then be more or less from the northwest, and must have its seats of greatest ice accumulation along the northern coast of what we call Cornwallis's Island. Into the region north and west of this, which, for aught we know, may be open always, and which must be open sometimes, *as we know*, a continuance of our *drift for* a few days longer, would have carried the American squadron; and it is not difficult to imagine that Sir John, if caught in the ice of Wellington Channel, may have been impelled by a like cause in the same direction—as, certainly, if he was not so caught, he would follow the open water. I should say that he is now to be sought for north and west of Cornwallis's Island.

As to the chance of the destruction of his party by the casualties of ice, the return of our own party, after something more than the usual share of them, is the only *fact* that I can add to what we knew when we set out. The hazards from cold and privation of food may be almost looked upon as subordinate.—The snow hut, the fire and light from the moss lamp fed with blubber, the seal, the narwhal, the white whale, and occasionally abundant stores of migratory birds, would sustain vigorous life. The scurvy, the worst visitation of explorers deprived of permanent quarters, is more rare in the depths of a polar winter than in the milder weather of the moist summer, and our two little vessels encountered both seasons without losing a man.

My impressions are, I think, sufficiently definite as to the manner in which such an expedition should proceed with reference to its great object, but I will not inflict on you a longer letter upon topics which it has not been within my official sphere to consider, and on which my friends, the officers with whom I have associated, are better qualified to decide than myself.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,
E. K. KANE, P. A. Surgeon, U. S. N.

HENRY GRINNELL, Esq., New York.—*Tribune.*

WE publish below the Resolutions offered for discussion at the Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester, last week, a letter from Miss Martineau, and an address from some French women now in prison. Very long and full reports of the proceedings of the Convention are made in several of the daily papers:

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS said that the Resolutions drawn up were of a serious and important character, but as the newspapers were in the habit of publishing little of their proceedings but the Resolutions, the committee were of opinion that some statements and arguments ought to be embodied in the Resolutions. Mr Phillips then read the following:

Resolved, That, while we would not undervalue other methods, the right of suffrage for women is, in our opinion, the corner-stone of this enterprise, since we do not seek to protect woman, but rather to place her in a position to protect herself.

Resolved, That it will be woman's fault if, the ballot once in her hand, all the barbarous, demoralizing, and unequal law, relating to marriage and property, do not speedily vanish from the statute-book; and while we acknowledge that the hope of a share in the higher professions and profitable employments of society is one of the strongest motives to intellectual culture, we know, also, that an interest in political questions is an equally powerful stimulus; and we see, besides, that we do our best to insure education to an individual when we put the ballot into his hands, it being so clearly the interest of the community that one upon whose decisions depend its welfare and safety, should both have free access to the best means of education, and be urged to make use of them.

Resolved, That we do not feel called upon to assert or establish, the equality of the sexes, in an intellectual, or any other point of view; it is enough for our argument that natural and political justice and the axioms of English and American liberty alike determine that rights and burdens—taxation and representation—should be co-extensive; hence women, as individual citizens, liable to punishment for acts which the laws call criminal, or to be taxed in their labour and property for the support of Government, have a self-evident and indisputable right, identically the same right that men have, to a direct voice in the enactment of those laws and the formation of that Government.

Resolved, That the democrat or reformer, who denies suffrage to women, is a democrat only because he was not born a noble, and one of those levellers who are willing to level only down to themselves.

Resolved, That while political and natural justice accord civil equality to woman; while great thinkers of every age, from Plato to Condorcet and Mill, have supported their claim; while voluntary associations, religious and secular, have been organized on this basis, still, it is a favourite argument against it, that no political community or nation ever existed in which woman have not been in a state of political and social inferiority. But, in reply, we remind our opponents that the same fact has been alleged, with equal truth, in favour of Slavery—has been urged against freedom of industry, freedom of conscience, and the freedom of the press—none of these liberties having been thought compatible with a well-ordered State, until they had proved their possibility by springing into existence as facts. Beside, there is no difficulty in understanding why the subjection of woman has been a uniform custom, when we recollect that we are just emerging from the ages in which might has been always right.

Resolved, That we are firmly convinced that the division of mankind into two castes, one born to rule over the other, is, in the case of the sexes, as in all cases, an unqualified mischief, a source of perversion and demoralization, both to the favoured class, and to those at whose expense they are favoured, producing none of the good which it is the custom to ascribe to it, and forming a bar, almost insuperable, to any really vital improvement, either in the character or in the social condition of the human race.

Resolved, That so far from denying the overwhelming social and civil influence of woman, we are fully aware of its vast extent; aware, with Demosthenes, that "measures which the statesman has meditated a whole year, may be overturned in a day by a woman"—and for this very reason we proclaim it to be the highest expediency to endow her with her full civil rights; since only then will she exercise this mighty influence under a just sense of her duty and responsibility; the history of all ages bearing witness that the only safe course for nations is to add open responsibility wherever there already exists unobserved powers.

Resolved, That we deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion, or of any individual to decide for another individual, what is and what is not their "proper sphere;" that the proper sphere for all human beings is, the largest and highest to which they are able to attain; what this is cannot be ascertained without complete liberty of choice; woman, therefore, ought to choose for herself what sphere she will fill, what education she will seek, and what employment she will follow, and not be held bound to accept, in submission, the rights, the education, and the sphere, which man thinks proper to allow her.

Resolved, that we hold these truths to be self-evident, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights Governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," and we charge that man with gross dishonesty or ignorance, who shall contend that "men" in the memorable document from which we quote, does not stand for the human race; that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," are "the inalienable rights" of half only of the human species; and that, by "the governed," whose consent is affirmed to be the only source of just power, is meant that half of mankind only, who, in relation to the other, have hitherto assumed the character of governors.

Resolved, That we see no weight in the argument that it is necessary to exclude women from civil life because domestic cares and political engagements are incompatible, since we do not see the fact to be so in the case with man; and because, if the incompatibility be real, it will take care of itself, neither men nor women needing any law to exclude them from an occupation when they have undertaken another incompatible with it. Secondly, we see nothing in the assertion that women, themselves, do not desire a change, since we assert that superstitious fears, and dread of losing man's regard, smother all frank expression on this point; and further, if it be their real wish to avoid civil life, laws to keep them out of it are absurd; no legislator having ever yet thought it necessary to compel people, by law, to follow their own inclination.

Resolved, That it is absurd to deny all women their civil rights because the cares of household and family take up all the time of some, as it would be to exclude the whole male sex from Congress, because some men are sailors or soldiers, in active service, or merchants whose business requires all their attention and energies.

LETTER FROM MISS MARTINEAU.

CROUN, ENGLAND, August 3 1851.

MRS. DAVIS—*My Dear Madam:*—I beg to thank you heartily for your kindness in sending me the report of the proceedings of your Women's Rights Convention.—I had gathered what I could from the newspapers concerning it; but I was gratified at being able to read it in a collected form, addresses so full of earnestness and sound truth, as I found most of the speeches to be. I hope you are aware of the interest excited in this country by that convention; the strongest proof of which is the appearance of an article, on the subject, in the *Westminster Review, for July*, as thorough going as any of your own addresses, and from the pen, (at least so it is understood here) of one of our very first men, Mr. John S. Mill. I am not without hope that this article will materially strengthen your hands; and I am sure it cannot but cheer your hearts. As for me, my thoughts and best wishes will be with you, when you meet in October. I cannot accept your hearty invitation to attend your convention, as my home duties will not allow of my leaving my own country. But you may be assured of my warm and unrestricted sympathy. Ever since I became capable of thinking for myself, I have clearly seen, and I have said it till my listeners and readers are probably tired of hearing it, that there can be but one true method in the treatment of the human being—of either sex, of any colour, and under any outward circumstances—to ascertain what are the powers of that being, to cultivate them to the utmost; and then, to see what action they will find for themselves. This has probably never been done for men, unless in some rare individual cases. It has certainly never been done for woman, and till it is done, all debating about what woman's intellect is, all speculation or laying down the law as to what is woman's sphere is a mere beating of the air. *A priori* exceptions have long been found worthless in physical science; and nothing was really effected till the experimental method was clearly made out and strictly applied in practice, and the same principle holds, most certainly, through the whole range of moral science, whether we regard the physical fact of what women are able to do, or the moral fact of what women ought to do, it is equally necessary to abstain from making any decision prior to experiment. We see plainly enough the waste of time and thought among the men who once talked of nature abhorring a vacuum, or disputed at great length as to whether angels could go from end to end without passing through the middle; and the day will come when it will appear to be no less absurd to have argued, as men and women are arguing now, about what women ought to do, before it was ascertained what women can do. Let us once see a hundred women educated up to the highest point that education at present reaches—let them be supplied with such knowledge as their faculties are found to crave, and let them be free to use, apply and increase their knowledge as their faculties shall investigate, and it will presently appear what is the sphere of each of the hundred. One may be discovering comets, like Miss Herschell; one may be laying open the mathematical structure of the universe, like Mrs. Somerville; another may be analyzing the chemical solutions of nature in the laboratory; another may be penetrating the mysteries of physiology; others may be investigating the cause of social relations, bearing upon the great natural laws under which society, like everything else, proceeds; others, again, may be actively carrying out the social arrangements which have been found under those laws; and others may be chiefly occupied in family business—in the duties of the wife and mother, and the ruler of a household. If, among the hundred women, a great diversity of powers should appear, (which I have no doubt will be the case,) there will always be plenty of scope and material for the greatest amount of variety of person that can be brought out. If not—if it should appear that women fall below men in all but the domestic function, then it will be that the experiment has been tried and the trial had better go on forever—that woman's sphere may forever determine itself to the satisfaction of every body. It is clear that education not to be what I demand on behalf of women must be intended to issue in active life. A man's medical education would be worth little if it was not a preparation for practice. The astronomer and the chemist would put little force into their studies, if it was certain that they must leave off in four or five years, and do nothing for the rest of their lives; and no man could possibly feel much interest in political and social morals if he knew that he must, all his life long, pay taxes, but neither speak nor move about public affairs. Women, like men, must be educated with a view to action, or their studies cannot be called education; and no judgement can be formed of the scope of their faculties. The pursuit must be the life's business or it will be mere pastime or irksome task. This was always my point of difference with one who carefully cherished a reverence for woman—the late Dr. Channing. How much we spoke and wrote of the old controversy—Influence *vs.* office! He would have had any woman study anything that her faculties led her to, whether physical science, or law, government and political economy; but he would have had her stop at the study. From the moment she entered the hospital, as physician and not nurse; from the moment she took her place in a court of justice, in the jury box and not the witness box; from the moment she brought her mind and her voice into the legislature, instead of discussing the principles of laws at home; from the moment she announced and administered justice, instead of looking upon it from afar, as a thing with which she had no concern, she would, he feared lose her influence, as an observing intelligence standing by in a state of purity, "unspotted from the world." My conviction always was that an intelligence never carried out into action, could not be worth much, and that if all the action of human life was of a character so tainted as to be unfit for woman, it could be no better for man; and we ought all to sit down together to let barbarism overtake us once more. My own conviction is that the natural action of the whole human being occasions not only the most strength, but the highest elevation, not only the warmest sympathy, but the deepest purity. The highest and purest beings among women seem now to be those who, far from being idle, find among their restricted opportunities some means of strenuous action; and I cannot doubt that if an active social career were open to all women, with due means of preparation for it, those who are high and holy now, would be high and holy then, and would be joined by an innumerable company of just spirits from among those whose energies are now pining and fretting in supine idleness or unworthy frivolity, or brought down into pursuits and aims which are anything but pure and peaceable. In regard to this old controversy—of influence vs. office—it appears to me that if influence is good and office is bad for human morals and character, man's present position is one of such hardship as it is almost profane to contemplate; and if, on the contrary, office is good, and a life of influence is bad, woman has an instant right to claim that her position be amended. With every wish that your meeting may be a happy one, and your great cause a flourishing one, I am, dear madam,

Yours, faithfully,
HARRIET MARTINEAU.

WM. H. CHANNING read portions of a letter from Jeanne Deroin, of France, Editor of the *Voice of Woman*, who was now in prison on account of her devotion to the cause of political liberty for Woman. Her offence was meeting with an assembly of working people in illegal numbers, among whom she has been active in forming co-operative unions. She is described by Mrs. Blackwell, of New York, as a woman of pure life, who is striving to enfranchise her sex. She addresses her letter from a prison in Paris, "To the Convention of Women of America," and it is also signed by another woman, engaged in the same cause, Paulina Roland, who is likewise imprisoned for the same offence. The following is the translation of the letter:

To the Convention of the Women of America.

DEAR SISTERS: Your courageous declaration of Woman's Rights has resounded even to our prison, and has filled our souls with inexpressible joy.

In France the reaction has suppressed the cry of Liberty of the Women of the future. Deprived, like their brothers of the Democracy, the right of reunion, they cannot loudly proclaim the right of Women to civil and political equality, and the fiscal laws which trammel the liberty of the press hinder the propagation of those eternal truths which must regenerate humanity.

They wish also—the Women of France—to found a hospitable tribunal which shall receive the cry of the oppressed and suffering, and vindicate in the name of human solidarity, the social right for both sexes equally, and where Woman, the Mother of Humanity, may claim in the name of her children, mutilated by tyranny, her right to true liberty, to the complete development and free exercise of all her faculties, and reveal that half of truth which is in her, and without which no social work can be complete.

The darkness of the re-action has obscured the Sun of 1848, which seemed to rise so radiantly. Why? Because the revolutionary tempest, in overturning at the same time the Throne and the Scaffold, in breaking the chain of the black slave, forgot to break the chain of the most oppressed of all—of Woman, the Pariah of humanity.

"There shall be no more slaves," said our brethren. "We proclaim universal suffrage. All shall have the right to elect the agents who will carry out that Constitution which should be based on the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Let each one come and deposit his vote; the barrier of privilege is overturned before the electoral urn, there are no more oppressed, no more masters and slaves."

Woman, in listening to this appeal, rises and approaches the liberating urn to exercise her right as member of society. (1) But the barrier of privilege rises also before her. "You must wait," they say! But by this claim alone Woman affirms the right, not yet recognised, of the half of humanity—the right of Women to Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. She obliges man to verify the fatal attack which he makes on the integrity of his principles.

And soon, in fact, during the wonderful days of June, 1848, Liberty glides from her pedestal in the flood of the victims of the reaction;—based on the right of *the strongest* she falls, overturned in the name of "the right of the strongest."

The Assembly kept silence in regard to the right of one half of humanity—for which only one of its members (2) raised his voice, but in vain; no mention was made of the right of Women, in a Constitution framed in the name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

It is in the name of these principles that Woman comes to claim her right to make part in the Legislative Assembly, and to help form the laws which must govern society, of which she is a member.

She comes to demand of the electors the consecration of the principle of equality by the election of a Woman, and by this act (3) she obliges man to prove that the fundamental law which has formed in the sole name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, is still based upon *privilege*. And soon privilege triumphs over this phantom of universal suffrage, which, being but the half of itself, sinks on the 31st of May, 1850.

But while those elected by the half of the people, by men alone, evoke force to stifle liberty, and forge restrictive laws to establish order by compression—Woman, guided by fraternity—foreseeing incessant struggles, and in hope of putting an end to them, makes an appeal to the labourer to found Liberty and Equality on fraternal solidarity. The participation of Woman gave to this work of enfranchisement an eminently pacific character, and the labourer recognises the right of Woman, his companion in labour.

The delegates of a hundred and four associations, united without distinction of sex, elected two Women (4) with several of their brethren to participate equally with them in the administration of the interests of labour and in the organization of the work of solidarity.

Fraternal associations were formed with the object of enfranchising the labourer from the yoke of spoilage and patronage; but isolated in the midst of the Old World, their efforts could only produce a feeble amelioration for themselves.

The union of associations based on fraternal solidarity had for its end the organization of labour, that is to say, an equable division of labour, of instruments, and of the products of labour

The means were, the union of labour and of credit among the workers of all professions, in order to acquire the instruments of labour, and the necessary materials, and to form a mutual guarantee for the education of their children, and to provide for the needs of the old, the sick, and the infirm.

In this organization (5) all the workers, without distinction of sex or profession, having an equal right to election, and being eligible for all functions, and all having equally the initiative and the sovereign decision in the acts of common interests—they laid the foundations of a new society based on Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

It is in the name of law framed by Man only—by those elected by privilege—that the old world, wishing to stifle in the germ the holy work of pacific enfranchisement, has shut up within the walls of a prison those who had founded it, those elected by the labourers.

But the impulse has been given—a grand act has been accomplished. The right of Woman has been recognised by the labourers, and they have consecrated that right by the election of those who had claimed it in vain for both sexes, before the electoral urn, and before the electoral committees. They have received the true civil baptism; elected by the labourers to accomplish the mission of their enfranchisement, after having shared their rights and their duties, they share to-day their captivity.

It is from the depths of their prison that they address to you the relation of these facts, which contain in themselves high instruction. It is by labour, it is by entering resolutely into the ranks of the working people that Woman will conquer the civil and political equality on which depends the happiness of the world. As to moral equality, has she not conquered it by the power of sentiment? It is, therefore, by the sentiment of the love of humanity that the mother of humanity will find power to accomplish her high mission. It is when she shall have well comprehended the holy law of solidarity,—which is not an obscure and mysterious dogma, but a living providential fact—that the kingdom of God promised by Jesus, and which is no other than the kingdom of Equality and Justice, shall be realized on earth.

Sisters of America! your socialist sisters of France are united with you in the vindication of the right of Woman to civil and political equality. We have, moreover, the profound conviction that it is only by the power of association, based on solidarity, by the union of the working classes of both sexes to organize labour, can alone be acquired completely and pacifically the civil and political equality of Woman and the oppressed, the Social Right of All.

It is in this confidence that from the depths of the jail which still imprisons our bodies, without reaching our hearts, we cry to you—Faith, Love, *Hope*—and send to you our fraternal salutation.

(Signed,) JEANNE DEROIN,
PAULINE ROLAND.

Paris, Prison of St. Legare, June 15th, 1851.

1. The 27th of February, 1848, Pauline Roland presented herself before the electoral re-union, to claim the right of nominating the mayor of the city where she lived. Having been refused, she claimed in April, the same year, the right to take part in the elections for Constituent Assembly, and again refused.
2. Victor Considerant.
3. In April, 1849, Jeanne Deroin claimed for Woman the right of eligibility, by presenting herself as candidate for the Legislative Assembly, and she sustained this right before the preparatory electoral re-unions of of Paris.
4. The 31 of Oct., 1849, Pauline Roland and Jeanne Deroin, delegates from the Fraternal Associations, were elected members of the Central Committee of the Associative Unions.
5. This Central Committee was for the Fraternal Associations what the Constituent Assembly was for the French Republic in 1848.